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AS we go to press it seems more and more evident that the Conference to Limit Armaments is itself to be severely limited. If so its limitation will be due to the Japanese and French. Those who have believed that these two delegations were working hand in glove with such a purpose in view will find their suspicions confirmed by the publication of the secret documents which apparently prove that France and Japan were in accord to give the latter a free hand in Siberia. Their authenticity, now denied by both Japanese and French, but apparently supported by reports to our State Department, will, if proved, be a profound shock only to those who do not realize that this sort of thing was going on among all the Allies throughout the war in which they asserted such high benevolent aspirations. But although it is the French and the Japanese delegates or ministers who are chiefly responsible for the failure of the Conference to follow up Mr. Hughes's brilliant beginning, *The Nation* has no intention of holding the French or the Japanese people responsible. We no more believe that the Haras and the Katos represent the aspirations of the Japanese multitudes, or the Briands, the Vivianis, and the Sarrauts the hopes and aims of the mass of the French people than we believed that the Kaiser and his crowd typified or represented the bulk of the German people whom they so successfully deluded. Upon the politicians rests the blame.

FRANCE will accept no limitation on submarine building; Britain will tolerate no menace to her naval security; the United States will not be outdistanced by either. Submarines require tenders and to fight them you must build anti-submarine craft. Competitive navalism will soon be in full swing; the limitation in capital ships means moderation in the branch of naval warfare the future usefulness of which is most doubtful, and the millions saved thereby may be applied to the cost of other weapons. The plain man will gain little—unless it be knowledge—from a Conference which had so great a beginning. And it is not only a complete naval holiday that will go aglimmering. With it may go the hope that the United States would cooperate soon in economic measures for the salvation of Europe and for its own increased prosperity. Obviously the success of such a conference requires a generous attitude on our part toward the debts of our former Allies, and equally obviously such a generous attitude will seem to the American people preposterous nonsense if it only serves to make easier the building of submarine fleets by nations which cannot balance their budgets or pay their debts.

WE are sorry the American stand against the submarine was not more vigorous. We are sorrier still that the American delegates should be at the old game of supporting pious rules for the control of dastardly weapons. That is all Mr. Root's proposals amount to and in his inmost heart he must know that, given the existence of submarines, aircraft, and poison gas in the emergency of war, any nation will use them as its interests seem to warrant. Gentlemen's agreements on the conduct of organized murder will never hold. The real threat of the submarine is less against merchant vessels than against a nation's food supply and it is hard to understand why it is much more damnable to starve an enemy people by submarine warfare than by the old-fashioned blockade. Mankind's job is to end war, not to try to civilize it.

ONCE more we deplore the lack of an American news service in India. We are obliged to depend for news of tremendous import upon fragmentary and biased semi-official British dispatches. Take the reception of the Prince of Wales at Calcutta for example. Most of the British correspondents say that the boycott was a failure. Is the wish father to the news? Other British dispatches declare that on the first day the streets were deserted and in the same paragraph in which they call the hartal (general strike) a failure, they admit that 3,500 arrests were made in Calcutta alone probably in order to insure popular enthusiasm for the Prince. News with regard to the National Congress is equally unsatisfactory. What we do know is most interesting. The British refrained from suppressing its meeting though they had arrested its president. Mr. Gandhi carried his strict non-violence program by an overwhelming majority and was made virtual dictator. A Moslem conference sitting at the same time is reported to have declared for what might be called a defensive use of violence, and reports of the declaration of a Republic of India widely circulated by Hindus in America seem to refer to the action of this body. It would, we believe, be unfortunate if Gandhi's great experiment should be aban-

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doned by a considerable section of Indians without further trial, and equally unfortunate if a declaration of independence should issue from a religious body. But the National Congress almost certainly went farther toward immediate independence than British dispatches suggest.

WHILE the public waits for the report of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor in regard to the private war in the non-union coal fields of West Virginia, two events have occurred in the region itself to intensify distrust and bitterness among the miners. First, C. E. Lively and two other Baldwin-Felts agents who shot and killed Sid Hatfield and Ed Chambers on the courthouse steps at Welch have been acquitted of the charge of murder. Hatfield and Chambers were coming unarmed to answer to indictments, and were killed in reprisal for the shooting at Matewan in 1920, when seven Baldwin-Felts men lost their lives as a result of an attempt to evict union miners from their homes. Second, Frank Keeney and Fred Mooney, president and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of District No. 17, United Mine Workers of America, have been refused bonds and committed to jail at Logan, charged with conspiracy in connection with the miners' march last summer. Logan County is owned body and soul by the coal operators, and prisoners in its jail may be—and have been—killed in cold blood without chance of redress. Meanwhile the union has renewed the offer made before the Senate Committee last autumn (and refused by the operators) to submit all points at issue to arbitration. If the operators still continue obdurate, they have no possible claim upon the sympathy of the country—but the country, except when the miners riot or march as an army, seems to forget all about West Virginia.

NOTHING to our mind could be finer than Eugene Debs's bearing since his quitting jail; we welcome the news that he is to tour the country on behalf of his fellow-prisoners in Atlanta prison, for wherever he goes he will radiate the spirit of love which Christ exemplified. "Never have I ever seen any one from whom love so shines as from this man," writes a friend who called on him in Washington. No wonder the President was so moved; no wonder that the heathen of the press rage. The editors cannot understand how such a man can glory in his faith and can refuse to admit that his belief has been altered or affected in any degree by his incarceration. They gnash their teeth in anger at his serenity of spirit; they read with horror of 50,000 people welcoming him to his home as if he were a triumphant President instead of a returned convict. Verily, these are good days to live in when Debs and Gandhi give daily proof of the power of love, of the refusal to bear hate, or malice, or resentment, or to carry arms! Of course they know the price they must pay. Debs told Mr. Harding that he expected only hate and misrepresentation; the prison doors may open for him again. The world needs nothing so much today as the teachings of these two men who have risen by the conquest of their own spirits to heights of spiritual greatness.

WHATEVER Mr. Walker D. Hines says about our unhappy railroad problem is so worth consideration that his address before the American Economic Association has especial interest. Most gratifying is the fact that it is not a pronunciamento against labor nor a demand that our railroad managers be saved once more at the expense of their employees. He declares that new ways must be found to decrease the heavy operating costs, and he indicates them. If, he says, as much attention is given to reducing the costs of terminal work and of maintenance—now 65 per cent of the total operating expense—as has heretofore been concentrated on increasing the train-loads much can be accomplished. He would have the railroads consolidate their terminals, adopt common ownership of freight cars so that all the waste of returning them to their numerous owners would be cut out, and—most important—he would consolidate the railroads themselves into a very small number of large systems. Mr. Hines is certain that without sacrificing anything of real value further unification will save an important part of the heavy cost of operation. He denies that the enormous increase in the cost of maintenance and equipment is due to the national agreements with labor and that by modifying the latter hundreds of millions of dollars could be saved. The fact is that the basic rules which largely affect costs were not initiated by the Federal railway administration but had been in existence for numerous railroads prior to the war.

PRESIDENT HARDING has done well to defer comment on the Wood Report until the delegation of Filipinos now on its way to the United States has submitted the reply of the Philippine Legislature. The report, of which we publish a part in the International Relations Section this week, is the more interesting by reason of the plainly revealed bias of its author. He is opposed to the "Filipinization" of the Philippines; and the recent Democratic administration he believes to be synonymous with inefficiency. General Wood's specific charges in both connections may have some foundation; but the report must be read with the facts in mind that the new Governor General is a military man—with a record behind him of service in the Philippines—and that he is a Republican. He does not believe that the Philippines should be independent, and he tells us, rather naively, that the American inhabitants of the islands together with the least civilized natives—the Moslems and the pagan tribes—agree. "The great bulk of the Christian Filipinos," he admits, "have a natural desire for independence"—and virtually all of the civilized people of the islands are Christians. We await with interest the arrival of the Philippine delegation.

JUST before Christmas there was a noticeable decrease in unemployment. This was due in part to the stimulus of Christmas shopping and in larger part to the improvement in the textile industry. Experts are doubtful whether this increase in employment will continue during the winter months. What is continuing is employment furnished by road-building and other sorts of work. One substantial result of the President's Unemployment Conference was the impetus it gave to the movement, already under good headway, for making these valuable improvements in bad times. Federal, State, and municipal governments have all cooperated to this end. On November 15 governors of thirty States announced plans for road-building which would employ 150,000 men. This work is financed by selling bonds. It is the fashion to moan over the diversion of productive capital into government bonds, but these bonds are in a true sense productive, and their sale at this juncture relieves unemployment more than would the sale of industrial securities. The other favorable result of the President's

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conference seems to be its beneficial effect upon employers who feel an increased responsibility for unemployment. But neither public concern nor public planning is commensurate with the need. Our present social system has yet to prove that it can give a decent life to those who do its work.

FOREIGN incursions and depredations in China are an old story; Korea was seized and Manchuria and Mongolia were plotted out into areas of special interests long ago; the Pacific islands were eaten alive before the phrase "self-determination" was ever born. But they make up a tale that is told; meanwhile a gorgeous example of imperialist piracy is in full swing in Siberia, and no one can afford to miss the show. What Germany did to Belgium, what Belgium did to the Congo, what England did to the Boers, what the United States did to Haiti—all these exploits rolled into one can hardly equal what Japan is doing to the people of Eastern Siberia, for Japan has added new wrinkles to the old game. She has used the dark weapon of counter-revolution and civil war to make independence a joke; she has encouraged Ungern and Semionov, notorious bandits and murderers of helpless people; she has disarmed the native Siberian forces banded together to protect themselves. The Government of the Far Eastern Republic limps along, hampered at every step by Japan; Vladivostok is governed by a band of thieves who have not even the support of the conservative Russian population; northern Sakhalin is virtually annexed to Japan. The favorite Japanese explanation for the presence of their troops in Siberia is the necessity of protecting her own citizens. Unfortunately for this excuse the latest Japanese census reveals the fact that the entire Japanese population of the Maritime Province is less than 5,000, of which number 4,361 are concentrated in Vladivostok. For their "protection" an army of 10,000 men is saddled on the people of Eastern Siberia.

OPTIMISTIC dispatches from Peking notwithstanding, the coup d'etat in China means retrogression. If the new Cabinet is a national unification or coalition government as proclaimed, then it is a coalition of the two most evil forces in China. The new Cabinet represents an alliance of two leaders, Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian brigand chief, and Liang Shih-yi, the new Premier. The first is the most offensive and least civilized of the Chinese military despoilers; the second is the cultured and astute leader of the most sinister and unscrupulous of the old Mandarin cliques. Liang Shih-yi, known throughout China as the God of Wealth, returns to power after an absence from office since 1915, when he attained fame as the man behind Yuan Shih-k'ai and his abortive monarchy. To finance the restoration movement he wrecked the two government banks, being then Minister of Finance, by withdrawing all specie and printing millions of dollars worth of notes when the specie was gone. Thus began the decline in government banknotes—at times to 50 per cent of par value—which has brought about the Government's present financial collapse.

RETURNING from exile a few years ago, he and his party began maneuvering to regain political control. All being grist that comes to his Chiaotung mill, he used the famine relief organizations of 1920 to build up a new machine, obstructing relief where he had to. He has lacked only military backing. Now he has it through his alliance with Chang Tso-lin, China's most powerful military man, whereas Chang, who has had military power, has needed only a party in Peking to register his will. His alliance with Liang Shih-yi satisfies this need; with the additional nasty complication in the fact that Chang Tso-lin is beyond doubt allied with the Japanese militarists. The new Government is a stronger combination than any that has preceded it in Peking and it will last longer. But it only postpones the inevitable smash. That smash must come, for China's good. The concern evinced at the Conference in Washington over the peril to law and order in China is the result of perverted logic.

COAL is high, the bottom has fallen out of the corn market, and the farmer, having corn to burn, is burning it. By order of the County Board, all county buildings in Pocahontas County, Iowa, are to be heated with corn this winter. Various firms in the Middle West are following suit, and no one knows how many individuals are heating their houses by the same method. Corn is good fuel. A New York combustion engineer has estimated that a pound of corn averages 8,000 heat units as against 12,000 to a pound of coal. The same engineer corroborates Secretary Wallace's statement that corn at twenty cents a bushel is equivalent to coal at ten dollars a ton. Nobody can blame the farmer for preferring to turn a wagon-load of corn into heat energy rather than trade it in for one pair of slightly worn rubber boots—probably he can make his last year's boots do. But when 20 millions of Russians are reported to be starving what is to be thought of the coal owners who help to make such a condition possible? Hard coal is the one important commodity which did not drop a cent in price in the depression period, but has actually increased steadily.

THROUGH his death from yellow fever at Vera Cruz Dr. Howard B. Cross of the Rockefeller Institute takes his place among the heroes of science, for he as deliberately risked death as did Dr. Jesse W. Lazear and Dr. Walter Reed, the two physicians who by their courting death in Havana in 1899 established beyond question that the yellow-fever germ was carried by certain species of mosquitoes. Those two physicians voluntarily submitted to inoculation to prove the theory. Dr. Cross, who went to Vera Cruz for the express purpose of combating the marsh and yellow fevers which curse that region, contracted the latter disease two days after arriving at Tuxtepec. The Rockefeller Institute declares that "Dr. Cross gave his life willingly in order that one of the great plagues of humanity might be overcome and destroyed." Able, brave, conscientious, devoted, and only thirty-two years of age, he typifies the noblest figure in the modern world, the man who makes the supreme sacrifice for the purpose of saving humanity, not of destroying it by the barbarous methods and weapons of war. Men of this devotion are the finest ambassadors the United States can possibly dispatch to foreign countries to offset the diplomats, the marines, and the exploiters who make us the "peril of the North" in the eyes of our sister republics in this hemisphere. If our country recognized the noble heroism and superb example of Dr. Cross it would inter him at Arlington with as great honors as had the Unknown Soldier. The Government recognized Dr. Reed's martyrdom by naming its great military hospital in the District of Columbia after him. Let us hope that the Rockefeller Institute will find a way to aid in perpetuating Dr. Cross's memory.

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Does Mr. Taft Want Direct Action?

ON April 17, 1905, Mr. Justice Holmes of the Federal Supreme Court in a dissenting opinion said: "The Fourteenth Amendment does not enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's 'Social Statics.'" On December 19, 1921, the same wise old jurist, again in a dissenting opinion, felt called upon to say: "There is nothing that I more deprecate than the use of the Fourteenth Amendment beyond the absolute compulsion of its words to prevent the making of social experiments that an important part of the community desires. . . ." That he feels that his first protest has not been heeded during the sixteen years which have intervened is painfully evident. That it is needed even more now than when it was first uttered is tragically true—all the more so because this time his voice is raised on the minority side in a case of far greater importance.

The facts of the case Truax *vs.* Corrigan are simple. Truax ran a restaurant in Bisbee, Arizona. A dispute arose between him and the local Cooks' and Waiters' Union and a strike was called. The union instituted a boycott against his restaurant so successfully that the business was cut down to about a quarter of its former size. Truax began suit for an injunction, alleging a conspiracy to injure his business by picketing his restaurant and announcing that he was unfair to his employees, by distributing handbills which libeled him and his restaurant, and by threatening his strikebreakers and patrons by calling them names, and by means of a sign which read: "All ye who enter here leave hope behind." In defense the union relied upon a State statute which limited the use of injunctions in labor cases and specifically forbade an injunction against advising the public to cease patronizing a party to an industrial dispute. The trial court dismissed Truax's suit and the Supreme Court of Arizona affirmed the judgment and upheld the constitutionality of the statute.

In that situation the case reached the Supreme Court of the United States. That powerful tribunal, through Mr. Chief Justice Taft, has now reversed the State courts and declared the Arizona statute unconstitutional and void. The decision has the support of a bare majority of the court, four justices, Messrs. Holmes, Brandeis, Clarke, and Pitney to their credit dissenting. Once again a matter of the gravest importance to the public good has been determined by the vote of one of the men who, by the more or less fortuitous chance of human affairs happen to occupy the bench of the Supreme Court. In this case the chance character of government by judicial decision is emphasized by the fact that the accident of death had just removed one Chief Justice and substituted another. The new Chief Justice, no matter how great his attainments as a lawyer and a man, has always held to the reactionary view of the law of labor disputes. Those who remember the Taft and Ricks injunction of 1895 will not be surprised that he is now the one to deliver this body blow to organized labor.

The Chief Justice rested his decision on two points. Truax's restaurant business, he held, was property. The union's conduct injured it, and in a manner which moved the Chief Justice deeply. "Violence," he said, "could not have been more effective. It was moral coercion by illegal annoyance and obstruction and it was thus plainly a conspiracy. . . . A law which operates to make lawful such a wrong . . . deprives the owner of the business of his property without due process and cannot be held valid under the Fourteenth Amendment." Moral coercion by illegal annoyance! There indeed is a phrase for the opponents of organized labor to conjure with. Any of the familiar tactics of labor unions, even the strike itself, amounts to moral coercion. Moreover any of them causes annoyance and obstruction to the employer and his business. Which of them are legal and which illegal is the important matter. In the present case the people of a sovereign State undertook to say that, in practical effect, certain tactics were to be considered legal—or at least that they were not to be enjoined. This the Supreme Court has now held they cannot do and hereafter no State legislature, nor indeed Congress, can prescribe rules of conduct in this field of human relationships without the chance of an irreversible veto from the Supreme Court. It has long been supposed that no person possesses a vested right in any rule of law. Indeed, the Supreme Court so held in the cases sustaining the employers' liability statutes. Now that same court decides in effect that the sovereign people cannot constitutionally change the rules of law in the field of industrial relations unless the court sanctions the change.

But the Chief Justice was not content to let the matter rest there; he announced another and even more disastrous basis of decision. The statute, he said, was unconstitutional on the further ground that it denied Truax the equal protection of the laws because it took away from him the right to redress for certain injuries because they were done by strikers, whereas they could have been redressed had they been done by his business competitors or by anyone else. Equal protection of the laws, says the court, means not only equal protection *for* all similarly situated but *against* all as well. This, we believe, is a new extension of the prohibition of the Fourteenth Amendment. That it is as unsound in legal theory as it is in public policy seems to us to be made clear by Mr. Justice Pitney in his able dissent. In practice it means not only that the people of the several States cannot legislate in the field of industrial relations free from the possible veto of the Supreme Court, but that in certain directions in that field they cannot legislate at all. For if by statute they make an act lawful for labor which would be unlawful for other persons, they have violated the equal protection of the law's clause and their work is void.

The Chief Justice of course recognizes that no laws are of universal application and that legislative classification, within proper limits, is entirely constitutional. It has always been assumed that labor was a proper subject for classification—that the relation existing between employer and employee made it so. On that theory employers' liability statutes have been sustained. On that theory the Clayton Act was passed and on it rests the exemption of labor and farmers from many State anti-monopoly statutes. Indeed, it is on that theory that labor is often told to look to the legislatures for relief from the disadvantages at which it finds itself in the industrial struggle. The Supreme Court now tells us that this theory is not constitutional—at least as to workers who are on strike—and throws us back on the necessity of working out the problems of industrial relations by the same conception of property rights and actionable injuries which governs other and less fundamentally antagonistic relationships of human society. We have not the

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power, within the Constitution, to vary those rights so as to put labor in a position favored above others. We cannot experiment in the field so as to put considered proposals to the pragmatic test. Indeed the Chief Justice says: "The Constitution was intended, its very purpose was, to prevent experimentation with the fundamental rights of the individual."

Well, so be it. The highest court in the land has spoken and we now know the limitations of our power. We cannot, if we will, follow the example of England in her Trade Disputes Act of 1906. What courses are left? They are not many, nor are they promising. Organized labor can adopt the slow and discouraging course of agitating for the adoption of a Code of Industrial Relations by constitutional amendment; it can bow to the inevitable and be content to eat humble pie; or it can attempt to break the power of the judiciary by direct action. These alternatives are not pleasant to contemplate. If in future years Truax *vs.* Corrigan comes back to plague us in terms of defiance of the courts, we shall know where to assess the blame.

Outlawing War

THE failure of the Washington Conference to deal with chemical means of warfare or even to limit submarine building will cast a dark cloud over many fair hopes of peace. But that cloud will have a silver lining if by reason of this failure men's thoughts turn from the Utopian dream of limiting the destructiveness of war's weapons to the practical possibility of abolishing war. You may kill the man-eating tiger, you cannot pare his claws. You may end war, you cannot permanently persuade nations which contemplate the "necessity" of fighting to discard those weapons the use of which may give victory. These reflections gain point by reason of the timely appearance of a pamphlet, "The Outlawing of War," written by that able Chicago lawyer, Mr. Salmon O. Levinson, and issued by the American Committee for the Outlawry of War. The plan itself was originally drawn up by Mr. Levinson in collaboration with the late Senator Knox and in its essence was incorporated in a constructive program for peace published in *The Nation* for November 17, 1920. It provides for the codification of international law by a conference which will declare war a public crime and create an international court with affirmative jurisdiction to whose judgments nations will submit as the States of our Union now submit to the decisions of the Supreme Court. Armaments are to be drastically reduced and yearly reports thereon are to be verified by authorized committees. Far less satisfactory is the suggestion for the "substitution of a potential army through citizen soldiery on the Swiss model" in place of "professional soldiery." But the "Swiss model," as copied by great imperialistic Powers, would mean compulsory military training and service on a huge scale—a most inappropriate accompaniment to the outlawry of war!

Nevertheless, whatever may be true of details which are subject to modification the plan itself is simple, understandable, and entirely in the right direction. Professor John Dewey in his foreword suggests that any present scheme of a league of nations "is bound to make much of the sanction of physical force against recalcitrant nations. In that way it continues the old tradition of the lawfulness of war. What the world now needs is enlightenment and a concentration of moral forces." It is this which an international conference for the outlawry of war might easily provide. That such a conference of itself would obtain lasting peace we are less sure. The danger of future wars springs from three sources: (1) The revolt of exploited peoples from the domination of imperial Powers; (2) the revolt of exploited classes against an economic system which functions imperfectly and oppressively; and (3) strife between imperial Powers for mastery. It is this last danger—undoubtedly the most immediate, although not ultimately the most serious—with which alone Mr. Levinson's plan would deal. And even to guarantee the permanent outlawry of war between the great Powers, we believe will in the long run require a different economic organization and ethical viewpoint from those which prevail under our present imperial system, which in its very essence makes for the strife and spoliation the ultimate form of which is war. It is, however, reasonable to hope that the growth of a new attitude toward life would be enormously furthered by the focusing of public sentiment upon the madness as well as the iniquity of war. In short, this scheme for war's outlawry is a statesmanlike attempt to embody in recognized social usage something of that abhorrence of war which flaming spirits like Debs and Gandhi are preaching to men as the necessary condition of their salvation.

Directors and Diplomats

WHEN M. Philippe Berthelot resigns from the position of Director General of the French Foreign Office, it means nothing at all to the American newspaper reader, but it means a world in France. M. Philippe Berthelot has been the continuing and dominant factor in French foreign relations through several shifts of prime ministers. There were those who called him the evil genius of French foreign policy; and even his enemies ruefully agreed that he was one of the ablest men in the service of the French republic. His passing means the departure from the Quai d'Orsay of a steadfast and resourceful opponent of Mr. Lloyd George's conciliation policies, and while his place is not likely to be filled by a man of very different views, his going weakens French policy by depriving it of its most consistent exponent. The story of M. Berthelot's use of his extraordinary power is particularly interesting at the moment of the alleged revelations of French secret policy in the Far East.

M. Berthelot was typical of the extraordinary interrelationships of French diplomacy and French business. In this country we tend to place in office relatively weak men who are easily and frequently unconsciously influenced by American business interests. In the French diplomatic service the relationship is more intimate. Philippe Berthelot was forced to resign because his use of his office to aid his brother's business interests became public. His brother, André Berthelot, is president of the Industrial Bank of China. A year ago, when rumors were current about the credit of this bank, Philippe Berthelot cabled to China that the credit of the French Government stood behind this bank. He had no authority to do so; it was in the interim between M. Leygues's resignation and M. Briand's appointment, and the telegram, although signed "Leygues," was sent without M. Leygues's knowledge. The bank eventually failed, and the French Government did not put its credit behind it; M. Berthelot's telegram became public, and there was a grand scandal. But M. Briand stood by his subordi-

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nate and M. Berthelot weathered the storm and accompanied his chief to Washington. Now another storm has broken, and M. Berthelot is out. Doubtless his brother, who also presides over the destinies of the Banque Ottomane and of the Paris subways and is director of a score of railroads and gas and electricity companies, will find a job for him somewhere. Meanwhile cynics cannot help wondering whether there was any relation between the aggressive French policy which drove Prince Feisal out of Damascus and the interests of M. André Berthelot, administrator of the Banque Ottomane, which controls the Damascus-Harvah Railway, or those of M. François-Marsal, then Minister of Finances, who had temporarily left the leadership of the Union Parisienne, the bank which controls the Banque Ottomane. Other cynics assert that M. Berthelot's resignation is really due to the machinations of a Franco-American oil group which was hostile to his policy of Anglo-French entente in matters concerning oil in the Near East. The point is not whether the cynics are right, but that there is good reason for such cynicism.

M. Berthelot and M. François-Marsal are not alone in their business contacts. M. Charles Laurent, the first French post-war ambassador in Berlin, besides being president of the Banque des Pays du Nord and director of the Suez Canal Company and of various French steel companies, is a director of the Thomson-Houston Company, which has frequently been regarded as one of the chief agents of German business penetration in northern France before the war. M. Tardieu's unfortunate commercial adventures in Africa did not interfere with his political career. M. Dutasta, sometime ambassador to Switzerland, is director in an extraordinary group of French enterprises in Brazil, Switzerland, China, Mexico, and Morocco. And M. Jules Cambon, ambassador to Germany at the outbreak of the war, is now president of the French oil trust, director of the Orleans Railroad line and of the Banque de Paris, while his brother Paul, so long ambassador at the Court of St. James, is a director of the P. L. M. Railway and of the Suez Canal. One could go on down the line. There are few in the French diplomatic service of M. Jusserand's caliber; for the most part the diplomats are leaders in French big business, and they are not in diplomacy for their health.

Such known facts shed a queer light on the story of a Franco-Japanese accord for exploitation of Siberia. Mr. Walter Duranty, an able if erratic correspondent of the New York *Times*, recently exposed the financing of the Wrangel campaign by a French trading company. Wrangel received the full diplomatic support of France. The inference that French policy in the Far East has been as purely selfish and commercial seems logical.

Sometime and somehow France will have to cure herself of this burden of selfish individuals speaking with the official voice of the nation for the interests of small business coteries. That is France's problem. Meanwhile, if M. Berthelot's resignation calls the attention of the outside world to the interlocking system of diplomacy and business, it will render a real service. For it is the key to the explanation of many mysteries. The people of France do not care for more tons of submarines, but the steel interests of France do. They are not interested in imperialistic adventures in Syria or in financing Poland, but certain French business interests are. And until the French people manage to rid themselves of these corrupters of their public morals, the unanalytical rest-of-the-world will blame France as a nation.

Boies Penrose

GENEROUS fairies stood at the cradle of Boies Penrose. Inherited breeding and culture were already his. Wealth, power, and influence the wands of the fairies added, as well as personal attractiveness. Never did any young man enter public life under more favorable circumstances than did Boies Penrose, soon after his graduation with highest honors from Harvard. He was of the aristocracy of Philadelphia, of which his father was one of the most respected and useful citizens, and there was no question that fortune had given him ability together with its other gifts. An ambition to serve the State and the country seemed quite in order; surely one upon whom fortune had so smiled ought to dedicate himself to the common weal.

But how? He was faced by the inevitable choice. Should he become a reformer and wage an almost hopeless fight against the machines which controlled his city and his State? For a while he weighed the odds but it was not for long. A short service upon a reform committee and his choice was quickly made. Turning his back upon the ideals his alma mater is supposed to represent, he threw in his lot with the professional politicians. His was to be the "easiest way"; others might prate if they pleased about the necessity of cleaning up the State of William Penn and freeing it from its political degradation. Not so Penrose. He became a favorite aid and henchman of Matthew Stanley Quay, master political boss and creature of the railroads and big business interests who owned and governed the State of Pennsylvania. So, except for a defeat in his candidacy for Mayor of Philadelphia, Penrose's rise was steady and sure. The business world quite instinctively approved of him. When he took his seat in the Senate in 1897 he naturally became a member of the Old Guard which never surrenders but is now so weakened by his death and other losses that it will be still less able to make front against that agricultural bloc which we are now asked to believe is worse than the big business bloc that so long ruled the Senate.

It is the simple truth that neither his State nor his country has gained spiritually and morally by Senator Penrose's long career. True, in the last few years events have placed him in better position than before. The public has forgotten the bitter language Roosevelt applied to him in 1912. He was not very enthusiastic about the war, many of the hypocrisies of which he refused to mouth. Something of the fine American tradition that he inherited seemed at last to stir in him. He voted against the Versailles Treaty and worked for a real peace. He favored disarmament and last year labored earnestly to cut down army and navy. He even awoke somewhat to the gravity of the attacks upon civil liberties which are among our worst heritages from the war. None the less, the fact remains that for all his great opportunities nothing in Senator Penrose's life can be held up to emulation. What would not have been said of him had he had foreign blood in his veins! We should have had sermon after sermon to prove once more how dangerous is the effect upon us and our institutions of the foreign invasion. But the sinister influence which Boies Penrose wielded had no foreign origin; he was purely American to his finger-tips and traced his ancestry to colonial days. He had everything to make life worth living and the talent to live a worthwhile life of tremendous usefulness, yet he chose the baser part. With others nobility has obliged, but not with him.

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From Jail to Parliament

By A. VERNON THOMAS

Winnipeg, Manitoba, December 6

TO all forward-looking men and women come hours of great exaltation, hours which sustain them

> Spite of despondency, of the inhuman dearth
> Of noble natures, of the gloomy days.

Such an hour of exaltation have I had tonight as I saw a man in front of one of the newspaper offices addressing a huge crowd. In simple words he thanked the people for electing him that day to the Canadian House of Commons. The man was not an ordinary politician. The speaker's form and face were of the ascetic type. The voice was that of a highly cultured man, but a voice warm with popular sympathy, a voice betokening an intensely serious nature.

The man was James S. Woodsworth, Labor member-elect for Centre Winnipeg. The result of the poll had but half an hour before been announced and Jim Woodsworth had been elected by 3,740 votes over his nearest opponent, the straight Conservative candidate. It was the largest majority obtained in any of the three Winnipeg constituencies.

Just two and a half years ago James S. Woodsworth was arrested on the streets of Winnipeg charged with sedition, taken to the police station, searched, deprived of his collar and tie, and put into the cage with common drunks. He was committed for trial, was removed to the provincial jail, was refused bail and kept confined for five days. "Fifty thousand dollars will not get him out," declared one of the Crown lawyers. At meals during these five days Woodsworth sat next to "Sheenie" Holmes, a safe-cracker of international repute. Such was the judgment passed upon this man two and a half years ago by Big Business and by a citizenship enraged by the inconveniences of a general strike.

Immediately responsible for the trumped-up charge against him—it was eventually dropped in spite of all Woodsworth could do to bring it to trial—was the Government of Sir Robert Borden, in which the Honorable Arthur Meighen was Solicitor General. Mr. Meighen, who subsequently became Prime Minister, visited Winnipeg, conferred with the Crown lawyers, and is generally believed to have been the author of the arbitrary, high-handed, and exceptional methods adopted.

There does, after all, seem to be such a thing as poetic justice. For consider Premier Meighen's position this evening. He has been defeated in his own constituency of Portage-la-Prairie, which, by the irony of fate, is contiguous with that of Centre Winnipeg, for which Jim Woodsworth has been elected by a large majority. Not only has Mr. Meighen been personally defeated, but his Government has suffered the worst rout that has ever overtaken a Canadian administration.

Woodsworth's career has been heroic. He comes of old Canadian stock, of stock which trekked northward at the time of the American Revolution. Like thousands of Canadian boys and girls he grew up, if not in luxurious ease, at least in comfort and plenty and in surroundings which our socialist friends would undoubtedly describe as "bourgeois." The Woodsworth family coming West, Jim eventually went to Wesley College, Winnipeg, studied theology, graduated, and then began to preach the driest sermons which Winnipeg congregations ever listened to. However, he soon specialized in social service activities and worked chiefly among the foreign population. Here began his real conversion. Woodsworth saw the raw deal which the foreigner was getting in Canada, precisely the same raw deal, neither more nor less, which the foreigner has received under the Stars and Stripes. His whole being revolted against it.

Finally came the war—a Waterloo for Woodsworth and a triumph for his foes. From the very first he took the stand that war and Christianity would not jibe. As a Christian minister he refused to promote the war in any shape or form, and be it said here that through all the wretched, weary years of the struggle James S. Woodsworth never deviated one hair's breadth from that attitude. It meant of course insecurity, suffering, and hardship.

The Interprovincial Bureau of Sociological Research, conducted jointly by the three western provinces, of which Woodsworth was director, was closed down, a euphemism for "firing" him. With his wife and six children he went from Winnipeg, in midwinter, to Vancouver and became for about a year a pastor—he was still a Methodist minister—of a little mission in the wilds of British Columbia. Life there was soon made intolerable for him. Influential members of his congregation demanded that he preach against the "Huns," while the wife of the monopolist storekeeper of the place wanted less sociology and more "Jesus" preached. This family, by the way, ran the church with the same air of proprietorship in which it conducted its trading monopoly. Some of the influentials from the mission went to Vancouver to lobby against him, and the British Columbia Methodist Conference failed to reappoint him to the mission, another euphemism for "firing" him. Not content with this accomplishment, a determined effort was made to prevent Mrs. Woodsworth, a graduate of Toronto University, from teaching school in the settlement. In other words, the Christian stalwarts of the community literally attempted to starve this Canadian family. Thanks to the opposition of one or two in whom common decency was more in evidence the attempt was frustrated and Mrs. Woodsworth continued to teach school.

It was at this juncture that Woodsworth resigned from the Methodist ministry. His letter of resignation was a fine, dignified piece of writing. It has often been quoted and will certainly remain among Canada's great documents. Just now one paragraph must suffice:

> This brings me to the Christian point of view. For me the teachings and spirit of Jesus are absolutely irreconcilable with the advocacy of war. Christianity may be an impossible idealism, but so long as I hold to it, even so unworthily, I must refuse, as far as may be, to participate in or to influence others to participate in war. When the policy of the state—whether that state be nominally Christian or not—conflicts with my conception of right and wrong, then I must obey God rather than man. As a minister I must proclaim the truth as it is revealed to me. I am not a pro-German; I am not, I think, lacking in patriotism. I trust I am not a "slacker" or a coward. I had thought that as a Christian minister I was a messenger of the Prince of Peace.

Destiny found Woodsworth, shortly after this, working in a gray flannel shirt on the Vancouver waterfront as a

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longshoreman, wheeling boxes of Japanese oranges and other Oriental products along wobbly planks. Day by day he stood in line waiting for a job that sometimes came and sometimes didn't. His conversion was now about complete. "I studied political economy at Manitoba University," he said, "but I learned much more political economy on the Vancouver waterfront than ever the university taught me."

By sheer force of character Woodsworth became prominent in the British Columbia Labor movement. It happened that two or three weeks before the Winnipeg general strike of May, 1919, broke out, Woodsworth started off on a speaking tour across the Canadian prairie provinces arranged for him by his labor friends. When he reached Winnipeg, William Ivens, a Methodist minister who was driven from his church because of his pacifist opinions, was editing the *Western Labor News*, the organ of the strikers. Upon Ivens's arrest—he was taken from his bed in the middle of the night and whisked off to the federal penitentiary some miles outside Winnipeg—Woodsworth assumed the editorial chair. At the end of a week he too was arrested.

Admitted that the Winnipeg strike was no easy time for anyone; admitted that mistakes were made on both sides, it is none the less a substantial truth that the arrest and trial of the nine strike leaders—Woodsworth they never dared to bring to trial—was one of the worst travesties of justice that has taken place in modern times in the British Empire. The trouble started as a plain industrial dispute for the right of collective bargaining, to establish which the metal workers struck. They were speedily joined by other unions and to such an extent that a general strike was soon in being and effective. One of the principal points to be emphasized is that the three governmental bodies, the Winnipeg City Council, involved through the strike of civic employees; the Manitoba Provincial Government, involved through the strike of telephone workers; and the Canadian Federal Government, involved through the strike of post-office employees, stood idly by while the situation became dangerously aggravated. Another point to be borne in mind is that if, as alleged, the workers formed a soviet at the Labor Temple, Big Business, under the guise of the Citizens' Committee, formed a soviet at the Board of Trade Building. Between the two contending factions the three governments, municipal, provincial, and federal, stood irresolute and helpless. When, finally, the Federal Government did act, it was with a club and against the strikers.

The ingenious idea of deporting the strike leaders was hit upon, for nearly all of them were born in Great Britain. But, unfortunately, no statute existed under which they could be kicked out of the country. Undaunted, the Canadian Government speedily passed the necessary legislation. The act was put through in about twenty minutes at the end of a session. The chief Crown prosecutor in Winnipeg boasted that within forty-eight hours the strike leaders would be on the Atlantic Ocean. The new measure enabled a committee of the Department of Immigration to conduct a secret trial anywhere in Canada and pass sentence of deportation on British subjects.

There is a persistent belief in Canada that this exceptional legislation was rushed through under pressure from powerful financial interests in the United States. Canada was, and is, looking to the States for financial accommodation, and the American press, notably the New York *Times*, had painted the Winnipeg strike in hectic tints. Thus it is plausibly held that with the international bankers in New York pressing the Canadian Government to demonstrate its mastery of the situation, the Ottawa authorities devised exceptional legislation to permit of instant deportation.

However, Ottawa was foiled. The deportation idea created a storm of protest and overtures were made to the Labor Party in the British House of Commons to oppose, if need be, any cooperation on the part of the British Government. What was to be done? The strike leaders had been arrested and were in prison. There is every reason to believe that charges of sedition were now deliberately trumped up. The Canadian provinces are constitutionally intrusted with the administration of justice within their domain. Notwithstanding this, a Winnipeg lawyer had been specially appointed deputy of the Federal Minister of Justice and, with the aid of a Federal police force, had spectacularly arrested the strike leaders. This was a cowardly procedure on the part of the Federal Government and it was equally cowardly on the part of the Manitoba Government to permit the usurpation. The latter was without precedent in Canada.

The development of the trials, the functioning of the courts, was a shameful and disgraceful spectacle. At every turn it was obvious that nothing was being left undone to secure the conviction of the strike leaders. From the unusual methods adopted to obtain a jury to the prejudiced and inflamed summing up of the judge it was evident that Justice had abdicated her traditional role, having allowed her scales to be weighted and the bandage torn from her eyes. An old and almost obsolete law of seditious conspiracy was resorted to, and under this seven strike leaders were convicted and given terms of from one to two years. Of these seven, three were elected to the Manitoba Legislature while they were in prison, all for the City of Winnipeg, and they are today members of that body. A fourth, R. B. Russell, was a candidate in the present Dominion election, running in North Winnipeg. He received 3,094 votes as against 3,799 cast for the successful Liberal candidate and had the satisfaction of polling twenty-nine more votes than the Conservative candidate of Premier Meighen. But for dissensions in the Labor movement and even in his own Socialist group, Russell would undoubtedly have been elected.

F. J. Dixon, another strike leader, was tried separately. Dixon was well and favorably known throughout western Canada and was, at the time of his arrest, a member of the Manitoba Legislature. Perhaps the arrest and trial of Dixon was the worst blunder of Big Business in its blind and savage onslaught against the strike leaders. The trial was dramatic and spectacular. Dixon conducted his own defense and his address to the jury, which acquitted him, is now another of Canada's classics. In the Manitoba general election which took place a few months later Dixon ran in the City of Winnipeg, which formed one constituency and had ten members. He was head of the poll by an enormous majority, the largest ever secured in the Province.

A born teacher, Woodsworth might long ago have been a university professor in relative economic ease and security. He could have had a distinguished journalistic career. A little judicious truckling here, a little worldly wisdom there, and he might have warmed his hands indefinitely at the fires of life. But constitutionally incapable of compromise, Woodsworth has found security in the hearts of the common people of Canada to whose service he long ago dedicated himself. He is one of the heirs to that faith which moves mountains, and in his soul is a peace which certainly the world has not given.

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Mr. Harding and His Conference

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Washington, January 3

WHAT manner of man is President Harding, how is he wielding the powers of his tremendous office, and what do his slips in regard to the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments mean? These are the questions I encounter most when I leave Washington. They are not altogether easy to answer. But now that Mr. Harding has been for ten months President of the United States, it is possible to set forth certain facts about the man and his bearing in office. His relationship to the Conference helps to throw light both upon him and his mental processes.

Let it be said at once that no one could have opened the Conference in a more impressive or dignified way than did the President. He has a tall and striking figure; he dresses the part to perfection, and his walk and bearing are admirable. No one could have spoken more earnestly; if he was not quite as impressive as on the previous day at the exercises at the interment of the Unknown Soldier, that is because the setting and the occasion at Arlington naturally lent themselves more readily to the solemn and dignified, and the utterance of the President was naturally more charged with emotion. The foreigners were especially moved by the Arlington ceremony and not the least by the President's ending his address with the Lord's Prayer. Indeed, some of the English correspondents were disturbed as well as impressed. Did it mean that President Harding was putting himself at the head of what they described as "a Nonconformist movement" and injecting religion into politics? As they talked it over they became suspicious, despite my assurances that there was no especial significance in the President's extraordinarily dramatic recital of the Lord's Prayer, that there was some unfairness or trick in it. Did the President mean to meet the European diplomats panoplied in the armor of religious righteousness? That, their manner seemed to say, would be resorting to unfair practices—a sort of hitting below the belt! So divorced are religion and the higher international politics!

The President soon reassured these British correspondents by his complete and immediate withdrawal from the affairs of the Conference, and his business-like Baptist Secretary of State has injected no religious note into the Conference or committee meetings—at least so far as the outside world knows—to disturb anybody's equanimity. There has not been the slightest intrusion of the Golden Rule into any of the proceedings; it is as ignored as the commandments "Thou shalt not kill" and "Thou shalt not steal" are flouted. Moreover, I am inclined to believe that the President's now historic *faux pas* in connection with the Four-Power Treaty was really due to his detachment from the proceedings of the Conference and his failure to orient himself as to what his delegates were doing; the suggestion that it was a deliberate slap at Mr. Hughes is utterly ridiculous. It is impossible to believe that there was anything deliberate in his original interpretation. His lapses are due to certain clear causes. His great desire is to be on peaceful terms with everybody, which accounts for his entertaining William R. Hearst, whom no President for years has permitted to enter the White House. Hence, Mr. Harding would be the last to desire to give a public slap to the Secretary of State upon whom he has bestowed such complete freedom of action in dealing with American foreign affairs.

The keynote to Mr. Harding's character is, I think, his warmth and kindliness of heart. Therefore I am prepared to accept as true the New York *World's* report that he shed a tear or two in his interview with Mr. Debs. According to the *World's* reporter these two men "agreed that the world was in a troubled state, but the President said he believed the way to meet the difficulties was to adopt the tranquillity of Jesus Christ, to conciliate, mediate, to pursue the peaceful course." There we surely have the philosophy, political and social, of Warren G. Harding and the key to his mode of conduct. It and his unbounded optimism will be the sesame to explain many of his acts. I was present last summer when he told a group of journalists of the pardon he had extended to some four or five German-Americans of Covington, Kentucky, victims of our outrageous war madness and the brutality of some of our war sentences, men who were denounced by an utterly contemptible spy and informer. It was illuminating, indeed, to hear the President analyze this case, because he not only revealed his innate kindliness, his conscientious striving to do complete justice, the utter absence of bitterness or rancor in him, but also his clear understanding of the psychology of plain Americans. Undoubtedly he owes this in considerable measure to life in a small town; thus he was able to describe these Covington men to a former citizen of Marion who was present by likening them to an old man of the same type in Marion. Call this the fellow-feeling of Main Street for its own if you please. It was very human, very sincere, and touching.

One could not help letting one's mind go back to the brilliant personality which dominated the White House during the previous eight years. That highly trained and well-controlled intellect could feel profoundly the wrongs of groups of peoples, but very rarely the appeal of an individual case of wrong or injustice. It was difficult, indeed often impossible, to reach and touch Mr. Wilson's heart, to make him feel, for instance, what one of his black fellow-citizens suffered when he read of Mr. Wilson's segregating the black and white servants of the Government in the Departments at Washington. Had Mr. Wilson lived in Marion he would probably never have heard of any nice old German-American who ran a beer saloon in the Fourth Ward, and, if he had, he would not have understood the man or his aspirations. The point I want to make is that the tremendous change in the White House today is that there is a man in it with a heart full of sympathy for plain Americans, a heart which aches to do the right thing. If any reader of these lines wishes to get the exact point I am trying to make let him read the account in the New York *World* of Wednesday, December 28, 1921, of the interview between Mr. Debs and President Harding and then Mr. Wilson's un-Christian denunciation of Debs which Mr. Tumulty quotes on page 506 of his book with such satisfaction.

Frankly, as hearts go, it is infinitely better in this Republic to have the Harding heart in the White House than the Wilson heart. But a heart is not everything, though it may be vastly better than a cold, immovable mind. A brain is needed, too, and intelligence and understanding and knowledge in order to be a successful President. Mr. Hard-

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ing's policy of seeking "to conciliate, to mediate, to pursue the peaceful course" may carry him far and yet leave his Administration a complete failure. In this crisis of the world's history it takes more than the President's good-will —and his belief, so widely advertised on the bill-boards, that we Americans of today are meeting our problems with the same courage and capacity as did the men of Lincoln's and Washington's time—to solve our and the world's problems. Now, how is the President on the intellectual side? Well, first it is to be noted that at the bi-weekly conferences with the newspaper men his personality has made an entirely favorable impression upon the rather critical foreign correspondents who have gathered to hear him answer questions. But it is his dignity, his high respect for his office, his kindly personality, his fellow-feeling for the journalists, of whom he was once one, and his evident desire to do the right thing, which has made them like him. His attitude on Russia, for instance, has heightened the pleasant impression. He sincerely wants to aid the starving Russian people and is not the least hindered in so doing by dislike of their present form of government. It is his aim to bring the United States and Russia together again in the old, warm friendship which existed before the Civil War and he is very certain that our benefactions in this direful emergency will make the Russians grateful debtors to us.

But when it comes to answering the questions put to him on economic and political problems the foreign correspondents and some of us Americans are struck not only by Mr. Harding's sometimes queer use of words but by the apparent absence of preparation and knowledge to enable him to reply definitely and decisively about the matters at issue. The lack of training and thought upon many political and economic questions is alarmingly evident. Of vagueness there is much, precisely as there was in his preelection speeches; there is the same tendency to generalize, to postpone the concrete, and to throw out suggestions for plans or proposals which are in no degree matured. As has already been stated in *The Nation,* the announcement that President Harding was going to spring upon us an association of nations to take the place of the League of Nations was the result of an off-hand question asked by a reporter. What the President meant was, I take it, that he believed that out of this Conference would come succeeding conferences and the getting together of nations from time to time, out of which in turn would eventually grow some form of association like an international court. But for a week the press was mightily stirred by the thought that the association of nations which Mr. Harding had so vaguely and indefinitely promised during his campaign speeches was really at hand. It scared the advocates of the League of Nations almost to death until it was discovered that there was nothing concrete behind it. It is now the belief that the rule requiring that questions be submitted to the President in writing was the result of this incident, but that this method of procedure does not prevent other hasty answers is clear.

Again, on one occasion the answers to four separate inquiries, three of which related to matters touched upon in his Message to Congress, were astonishingly alike. These matters were in hand; experts were working upon them; every consideration was being given to them; there would be definite plans before long, when, it was not possible to say; but when the proposals were forthcoming they would be found to be very fine indeed; a way out would certainly be discovered to satisfy everybody concerned. The result of all this indecision is that pressing issues are held up and problems are carried along by the Administration until the lapse of time itself, or some threatening development, compels action. Take the question of the economic conference. At first it was understood that we were to call it, and promptly. Then it was said that the matter would not be taken up by the Administration until the present Conference on the Limitation of Armaments was out of the way. Now it is announced that without waiting for the ending of the Washington Conference the President today looks to European nations to call a conference upon economic matters rather than that the initiative should come from the United States; that he takes the position that this country cannot alone cure the European situation and that the Continental Powers have many problems to solve before the United States can be of assistance—a statement which, if final, would condemn Europe to bankruptcy and disaster.

As for the Washington Conference itself, the President is profoundly optimistic about it. It is a howling success and as such it will be portrayed to the American people by Mr. Hughes and Mr. Harding when the curtain rings down upon a Conference which has risen to only about 10 per cent of its possibilities. It is the same with our general economic and financial situation. Perhaps Mr. Harding is being fed only on highly optimistic reports, but in any event we are assured for the one hundredth time that "everything is going to be all right soon," to use the slogan of one of the current plays. The trouble is that evidence of a grasp of the underlying principles is always wanting. It is necessary to call a ship subsidy by another name, the press is told, as if that would make it smell sweeter and take the curse off; but there is apparently no Executive realization that by whatever name it is called, giving subsidies is putting the Government into partnership with certain thereby privileged business men and guaranteeing them profits whether they conduct their business well or badly. The effort to help Cuba and other sugar-producing countries by admitting in bond for refining here some 500,000 tons of sugar which will thus not have to pay tariff duties is commendable, but is the merest palliative. The President seems to have no realization that what the situation calls for is the entire removal of the tariff, just as he has as yet given to the public no clear vision on the whole tariff situation. The effort to be agreeable is making itself felt in the desire to remodel the tariff so as to make it flexible and predicated upon the constantly changing rate of exchange.

So we are witnessing the very interesting experiment, by no means unlike the one we beheld in the first Administration of McKinley, of an effort to get along by compromising freely and keeping everybody good-humored. That in Mr. Harding's case this has a notable ethical or religious basis should not blind us to its dangers when it is unaccompanied by real knowledge of economic and international problems and firm clear-cut programmatic leadership. Never did the world need this leadership so much. Never did we have a clearer instance of what it can accomplish than was given us at the opening of the Conference by Mr. Hughes's proposal on the limitation of battleships. True, Mr. Hughes did not get all that he wanted, but he has obtained something substantial; he would have got a great deal more had he been similarly vigorous and outspoken in demanding the abolition of submarines and poison gas, standing with the British on that issue. A flippant colleague of mine here sums it all up thus: "The best I can say of Mr. Harding is that as captain of the team he ordered two men to walk, took a walk himself, and then stole second with two out."

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Shall America Admit Defeat as to China?

By NATHANIEL PEFFER

Washington, December 30

A DANGEROUS state of mind pervades Washington. One hears that the concluding resolutions are being drafted by the Conference and that the Nine-Power Treaty is being sketched in. Homeward passages are being booked. The Conference slowly recedes from the first pages of the papers. There is a marked disposition to consider it practically over. As for naval questions, it is. As for Far Eastern questions, which will prove in the long run to be the more important, it has scarcely begun. To end it as it stands now is to confess the whole enterprise as abortive. The immediate danger is that just this will happen and that the Far East will go by default.

Almost since the beginning the Far Eastern side of the Conference has been obscured, increasingly so in the last month. This has been so for three reasons. First, because attention centered more easily on the simpler and more dramatic issues of naval limitation. Second, because it was to the advantage of certain elements that the Far East be obscured. Third, because of the misdirection of publicity on the Conference. I hope in a later article to show how and why the public has been almost wholly misled on the progress of the Conference, not so much because of any such desire on the part of the governments concerned as because of the deficiencies in the chief agency of public information, the daily press, and that not so much because of any evil motive in the press as because of its ignorance and stupidity. (In any such generalization, of course, three or four papers must be excepted.)

From time to time since the opening of the Conference it has been proclaimed in plenary sessions or in official *communiqués* that a great victory had been won for China. From time to time the papers have recorded that "this was an historic day for China." An impression has been created in the minds of all but Far Eastern specialists that something really has been done to remove the causes of international friction in the Far East. As a matter of fact what has been done in the concrete would not have warranted more than the summoning of second secretaries of legation to a meeting in Tientsin, Yokohama, or San Francisco.

There has been done so far in the concrete just one thing: the foreign post offices in China are to be abandoned next year. And that is trifling. Aside from that—nothing. Of the Four-Power Treaty the best that can be said is that it is a nullity, for if it is not that then it is the entanglement of America in an alliance covering Far Eastern territories, an expanded Anglo-Japanese Alliance. As I write there is promise of an agreement to allow China to raise its tariff to an actual 5 per cent ad valorem, to which it was entitled by the treaty of 1842 and which it is only now about to get, eighty years later. I make no comment. As to granting it the right of every sovereign Power to fix its own tariff, of that there is no prospect. Also a commission is to be appointed to investigate the possibility of eventually abandoning foreign rights of extraterritoriality, which of necessity can come to nothing for at least two or three decades.

True, there are the Root resolutions—the resolutions which Mr. Hughes triumphantly read out in plenary session as a new charter of China's freedom and which practically every paper in the country blazoned forth in the same wise—resolutions every provision of which has been sealed in international compacts from fifteen to twenty-five times in the last twenty-five years. Now, I take it for granted that the American delegation was speaking in diplomatic euphemism. I take it for granted that the American delegation does not believe those resolutions as unapplied generalities have any worth and that it does not expect the American public so to believe. I cannot credit any other hypothesis. Any other hypothesis would be to convict the American delegation of incredible obtuseness or incredible cynicism.

In a few more days the agenda on limitation of armament will be completed. In the few days immediately following will come the test of the Conference and of Mr. Hughes. He is tactically in a bad position. The delegates are weary. The climax of the Conference has passed. Public attention has been held beyond the public's capacity for concentration. Psychological conditions are against him, political factors even more so. The other Powers represented would be only too glad to escape with the *status quo* untouched. At least one of them, Japan, is determined so to escape. Even the Japanese correspondents are leaving with announcements, just a little accented with triumph, that it is all over anyway. The chances are that Japan can escape more easily now that France has set the precedent of uncompromisingness and intractability and gained its point. It is certain that Japan at least among the Powers will press the Conference to pass a set of amiable abstract resolutions covering the remainder of the agenda and quickly adjourn.

Conditions are against Mr. Hughes, and the chances for success are against him. He has been defeated in his naval policy. For that none will hold him to blame. He made a determined fight, using, so far as we know, every resource. He owes it to himself and his duty to make an equally determined fight on Far Eastern questions. He can at least disabuse the minds of the other delegations of any misapprehension that America is satisfied with what has been accomplished—first of all making clear that his own mind is so disabused. Then he can come forth with concrete proposals and at least enrol every Power publicly for record. More than that he can do only if he have the open and unqualified support of Great Britain, and it is the test of his diplomatic capacity whether he can get it—or, if not getting it, force the British practically to declare themselves as to their Far Eastern policy, as to whether they have given up for all time political ambitions in China. That is, whether they stand with Japan or America in Far Eastern policy. And if he gets British support, he can force Japan to concessions.

Whether he does or not, whether he succeeds or not, he can at least make clear where the American Government stands. He can enter the lawyer's exception to every standing injustice in the Far East that cannot be removed. The time has come to drop diplomatic amenities. In any case he can refuse to subscribe to a set of meaningless and pious pronouncements of virtue and write down America as satisfied with that out of all these pompous transactions. Certainly he must make a fight and not let the main purpose for which the Conference was called go by default.

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The Diary of Sir Roger Casement*

CHAPTER VII

Berlin, 18 December, 1914

ON getting back from ——— at midnight I found a letter from von Wedel asking me to go to the Imperial Chancellor at 12 (today) as Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg wished to meet me. I went at 11:15 to von Wedel at Foreign Office, who was more than friendly and told me they agreed to all my conditions as to the Irish brigade. Von Wedel took me round himself to the Chancellor's official residence next door to the Foreign Office. A fine palace. I was received and shown upstairs, and, sending in my card, in a moment I was admitted to a large room where the Chancellor, in gray uniform, was standing up.

He advanced to meet me, shook me warmly by the hand, and led me to a chair. We smoked cigarettes. He spoke in French, I in English by agreement. I did most of the talking and discussed Ireland, the Irish in America, and my hopes or "dreams" of a free Ireland, either now or later—but some day. He agreed that an independent Ireland, if possible of achievement, would be a good thing for Germany and for the freedom of the seas, and a desirable thing to attempt. I said I was aware, fully aware, that *today*, with the British fleet barring the way and keeping all Ireland in jail, to think of an independent Ireland was "fantastic" and he agreed to that. But I begged him to have an Irish policy for Germany in the future, for the next war would be a war for the seas, and then the cause of Ireland would indeed be the cause of Germany. He agreed. I spoke also of the Irish brigade and of my hope that by its formation "at least a hard blow could be struck at recruiting in Ireland," to which the Chancellor assented and said that that "would be of great service."

We discussed, at his request, Christiania and Mr. Findlay and the extraordinary later development with Findlay's present offer of £10,000 for me anywhere in the North Sea or Skagerrack and his intrusting the key of the back door of the British Legation at Christiania to my rascal Adler.

The latter act of Findlay has, possibly, more amazed the German officials and more aided to convince them of the truth of the whole story than all the rest. Von Wedel (truly) said to me this morning: "It *is* incredible—a man in Findlay's position to act so with an unknown, with *your* servant!" I said: "Yes—but that is the English character. You see I know them much better than you. To get me, to crush an Irish national movement, they would commit any crime today, as in the past. They have no conscience, when it comes to collective dealing. Individually the English*man* is a gentleman, often very charming; collectively they are a most dangerous compound and form a national type that has no parallel in humanity. Like certain chemicals, apart harmless, brought together you get an infernal explosive or a deadly poison!"

He laughed—and agreed that my diagnosis applied to the disease. I stayed with the Chancellor fully half an hour. He was interested and showed it and on my leaving he shook me warmly by the hand and wished me "all success in your aim and projects." . . .

The *B. Z. am Mittag* has a telegram from Brussels about Ireland, saying that a veritable reign of terror exists there, and that the Government are arresting all they suspect. . . . My only hope is that in their fury of rage and fear combined they [the British Government] will show their hand so openly against Irish nationality that Redmond and his gang will have either to repudiate England openly or repudiate the cause they have so grossly misrepresented for years. In any case I hope all that is sincere and true in Irish nationality will be outraged by the attacks of the Government, and that out of this accursed war of English greed against Germany shall be born once more in tribulation, in jail, in repression the spirit of Irish revolt against English tyranny. May it be so!

This follows naturally on Adler's fearful stories of my intentions to Findlay. Findlay has spun some magnificent tale to the Foreign Office; and so they are now panicking through Ireland and trying to get hold of the "dangerous" men before my attempted landing comes off. The bombardment of the Yorkshire towns will also have helped—and will probably be attributed to my malign influence here in Berlin. Findlay will think I got some information by my secret service agency, on which Adler dilated so much, that has shown the Germans that the coast was clear and the British ships all bottled up.

19 December

Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg said to me yesterday that he had never doubted England would join the others. He did not think England actually wanted this war at the moment, or was actively responsible for it coming just when it did, but that she could not resist the opportunity, *when it came*, of trying to get Germany down and destroying her. He was convinced that England could have stopped the war but would not because she thought it gave her the chance of years of coming in with every prospect of success to destroy the German menace. As to the pretext of Belgian neutrality that deceived no one now, he thought. "If it had not been Belgium, it would have been something else." I agreed and said: "The detained British vessels in Hamburg perhaps." "Very likely indeed," he replied.

I left the Chancellor about 12:40 and returned to von Wedel and discussed the Hamburg-America Line and the abortive attempt to open trade intercourse with Cork last January. He said he thought the Admiralty would take up Adler's suggestion and arrange a surprise for Mr. Findlay over "my capture"—"anywhere in the North Sea or the Skagerrack." Adler brought me the *key* of the back entrance to the British Legation in Christiania today—given to him by the Minister, so that he might "come in at any time"!

23 December

Yesterday, Tuesday, I went by appointment to see ——— at the Adlon Hotel. When leaving at 12:30 I saw a small gathering at the front door of the hotel and out on the step a tall, dark, Egyptian-faced man, with slight beard, a fez with white turban round it, and long black robe. Beside him a fezzed gentleman in morning suit. Just as I came out the guard was marching up Unter den Linden, and as they passed the Adlon the order was given and all "eyes right" turned on him. I guessed it was the Khedive—but was not sure. He was darker than I anticipated—a true Egyptian face. In the evening I learned it *was* the Khedive who had just arrived in Berlin, from Vienna, at 11:30. The

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English have deposed him and he is already to them the ex-Khedive. They have appointed his uncle Hussein Kamel as "*Sultan* of Egypt" and proclaimed, at the same time, an English protectorate over Egypt!

And these are the respecters of treaties who began the war solely because Germany had "violated the neutrality" of Belgium! Of all the hypocrisies mankind ever invented surely English greed of empire has excelled all other frauds in all other ages. Since this war began they have committed truly unpardonable crimes against honor, truth, and public law. The floods of lies against Germany deliberately designed to poison knowledge, poured out in America, in Ireland, and elsewhere; the "putting of the Home Rule Bill on the Statute Book" in order to entrap Irishmen into the armed attack on Germany; the bringing of Japan into the quarrel of the white men; the insidious and continuous attempts on Italy, on Portugal, on all the small neutral states; the seizure of Cyprus in open violation of their public treaty with Turkey; the seizure of Egypt; the seizure of German mails at sea; the bombardment of the Belgian coast towns and destruction of the lives and property of their wretched "allies"; the wanton destruction and bombardment of defenseless villages in Kamerun, at Dar-es-Salaam and elsewhere; and, finally, the union of thirty-eight ships of war—Japanese as well!—to overwhelm von Spee and his *five* cruisers! Seven to one is Mr. Asquith's idea of a "fair fight"! "All we ask is a fair fight" (Guildhall speech). A truly despicable record—and it is this bully, coward, and scoundrel of the nations who is howling through the world against the German bombarding *his* coast! His delightful press has had an orgy of impotent wrath against the German navy. The *Times* called the bombardment an "act of vulgar ferocity" and all of them ask: "Will not the U. S. A. *now* decide that the time has come for all *neutral* states to enter the ring on the side of the Allies?"

I am to go at 3 today to call on Captain Isendahl at the Admiralty to discuss the ways and means of the Christiania incident—and how to get Findlay. I don't think anything will come out of it. I don't like it—it is too British.

24 December

I went at 3 to the Reichs Marine Amt General Staff and found Captain Isendahl and another officer waiting. We discussed Findlay at length—and it was settled that "Mr. Hammond" will embark at Gothenburg for Christiansand direct (avoiding Kragerö) on 8 January. After that Adler will know nothing of his intentions—Adler will inform Mr. Findlay of this—and then two sketch outline maps of Ireland and Great Britain with *hypothetical* "mine fields" were given me. Two of the mine fields will close the Irish Sea north and south—from Port Patrick to Galloway and from Carnsore over to Wales. These to be laid "about 15 January." Mr. Findlay's only chance of catching "Mr. Hammond" will be when he travels by this small Danish S.S. Mjölnir from Gothenburg to Christiania. I asked no questions.

I took the maps to Adler and he traced them on paper and did it well, too, and brought them to me at 7:30 this morning. Then I arranged the tale he is to spin Findlay in addition to the two maps. Part of the tale is that I left for Vienna today and so allowed Adler home for Xmas. Also that I met the Khedive and "stood beside him" at the salute on Tuesday.

Meantime the British "Protectorate" over Egypt is announced with a "Sultan" of Egypt. The proclamation is signed by Milnes Cheetham (my old friend from Rio de Janeiro!) and is a delightful specimen of British hypocrisy and double-dealing, combined with the arrogance of the successful burglar who has got his victim robbed and bound. John Bull is doing it all "for the welfare of the dear Egyptians"! Equally he has "*no quarrel with the Caliphate*"—only with the "usurpers" of power at Constantinople! Everybody who acts for his own interests except John Bull is an "usurper," a "traitor," a "lunatic," or a "barbarian."

December 27

Christmas and Stephen's Days have come and gone. Adler left for Moss on Christmas Day only—having been detained at last moment on Thursday by Meyer for fear of possible trouble at Sassnitz again. I saw him off. The name of the steamer is the Mjölnir of Copenhagen. Mr. H. will embark on her. A real Mr. H. will go—but not the one Mr. Findlay suspects.

Limburg a/Lahn, 8 January, 1915

I have been ill and greatly upset at failure of my hopes. . . . Meyer came to me at the end of December to change the instructions for Adler. The new instructions are for him to tell Mr. Findlay that I embark, *he does not know where*, on the Mjölnir for Christiansand, that I am getting her to call in for me at some small port near Gothenburg, and then she will go direct to Christiansand. She is due to leave Gothenburg today—tonight some time, and it is tomorrow the "incident" should come to its head. Adler was told in my letter to go straight to Christiansand, to be there on 9th, "to meet me on arrival of Mjölnir." This letter was sent by 76 Wilhelmstrasse to Christiania and a wire sent to him to call at the Legation. . . .

On 5 January, I got a letter from Adler from Grand Hotel, Christiania, telling me he had seen Mr. Findlay on Sunday, 27 December, and that all was going very well and Mr. Findlay was very keen to catch me on my projected "raid" to Ireland.

At 6:20 I got a telegram from F. O. as follows: time 2 h. 10 mts—"Following telegram for Hammond just received from Fredrikstad: 'Meet me train arrives 7:20 Berlin, must see you, good news.—Christensen.'" Very soon after I got a 'phone call from Mr. Meyer, asking me what I should do, saying he would go to the train to meet Adler. I said I did not want to go to Berlin unless absolutely necessary and to keep me informed by wire. At 7:20 a.m. 6 January I got a telegram, sent off in the night, saying: Your coming not necessary, Christensen returns tomorrow morning."

I wonder what Christensen's "good news" is? I hope it means that these scoundrels have fallen into their despicable plot to kidnap me. The daily papers speak of "English" mines laid off the coast of Norway, and give some details and the names of steamers—Norwegian—detained by them. This seems clearly part of the British "action" to prevent my contemplated Wolfe Tone descent on the coast of Ireland.

I must possess myself in patience and wait for developments. I hope it may mean several of their pirate craft caught in their own net laid for the one Irishman today they are really afraid of! My price has gone up to £10,000, and poor Adler is anxious to get their money "to give me" (poor soul!), so that I may fight them with their own "purse." I have laughed at this and told him we must never touch a penny of this money "given" to him.

[*To be continued*]

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Santo Domingo's Cardinal Mercier

By ERNEST H. GRUENING

"THE handsomest man in Santo Domingo," they call him; and even the grave illness which racked his splendid frame and snow-whitened his aureole of hair left the spirit and courage shining undimmed in his brown eyes deep-set in the kindliest, most lovable face. "The most beloved man in Santo Domingo." It was as easy to understand his right to this second title; not even the affection for their self-sacrificing and valiant President, Dr. Henriquez y Carvajal, exceeds the Dominicans' love and reverence for their Archbishop.

The Sunday after the arrival of the Senatorial Commission, a Te Deum for Monsignor Nouel's recovery was celebrated in the historic cathedral which shelters Columbus's tomb and bridges the longest time span in our hemisphere. When the oldest Mayflower Pilgrim was as yet unborn Santo Domingo flourished. It is for this culture and this civilization that Archbishop Nouel has been the irrepressible protagonist. Silence him they could not, this Cardinal Mercier of the Caribbean.

He was still feeble and I feared to encroach on his sorely needed strength. So a questionnaire was submitted, but even its unequivocal responses he amplified with a gentle humor mellowing the unquenchable fire which five years of martial law could not dim. For the Archbishop too has borne a heavy cross. The sufferings of his people, the persecutions and tortures done to the least of them, were also his. And even he did not escape personal molestation.

Archbishop Nouel is a notable historian. In 1918 he had sent to Seville for original documents to amplify a second edition of his Dominican history. The Occupation found in the package documents relating to "Charles V, Emperor of Germany." German documents! They were confiscated and destroyed and the Archbishop himself put under new suspicion, which culminated in the refusal to deliver to him the Directory of Masses for the coming year. Printed in Latin and sent from Rome to the Archbishop, it must be some form of a German code-book—so reasoned the intelligent military authorities running the Dominican branch for making the world safe for democracy.

Santo Domingo will recover its freedom—having seen Adolfo Nouel who could doubt it?—despite white-washing commissions, militarism, financial imperialism, and persistent propaganda designed to show that all on the island—Dominicans and Haitians—love the foreign invader, the only exceptions being a handful of political agitators and malcontents. To those believing this it follows that Archbishop Nouel is a political agitator and malcontent. He is—God bless him! He is malcontent with alien tyranny and oppression. He is an agitator for the spirit of '76 in America, for liberty, for justice, for the divine right of all peoples to control their own destinies.

The written expression of his views follows:

Question. What is your desire with respect to the Dominican Republic and the American Occupation? *Answer.* My desire is to see the Dominican Republic once more in full enjoyment of its liberty, independence, and sovereignty.

Q. Is that in your judgment the prevailing view of the Dominican people? *A.* This is also the unanimous desire of the Dominican people.

Q. Do you consider that the American intervention was in any wise justified? *A.* In my opinion, the American Occupation was in no way based on any principles of right and justice, and the intervention was unjustified.

Q. Do you consider that the five years' Occupation has in any sense been beneficial to the Dominicans? If so, what benefits, specifically, have been conferred? *A.* I do not consider that any benefits have been received from the intervention; on the contrary, I consider that the expectations of the Dominican people in regard to the American Occupation have been completely disappointed.

Q. Do you consider that the five years' Occupation has been harmful to the Dominicans? If so, what injuries, specifically, have been inflicted? *A.* During the American Occupation the Dominican people have seen and learned many things before unknown to them, and which have been in many ways hurtful to their ancient traditions and customs.

Q. Do you consider that the five years' Occupation has increased the friendly feeling of Dominicans for the United States, or otherwise? *A.* I do not think that the American Occupation has increased the friendly feeling between the Dominican people and the people of the United States; quite the contrary.

Q. What, from your knowledge of the state of opinion in the Latin-American world, has been the effect of the American Occupation on the feeling of the other Latin-American republics toward the United States? *A.* When I was in Rome last year I had occasion to meet archbishops and bishops from all parts of South and Central America, and the opinion was unanimous that the Occupation was unjustified; and, moreover, they freely expressed their opinion that their countries should get ready, as nobody knew whose turn would come next.

Q. What, from your general knowledge of the situation, is your opinion of the conditions in the sister republic of Haiti? *A.* Of Haiti I know personally very little, but from reports received, things appear to be very bad also in that republic.

Q. What message have you for the liberty- and justice-loving people of the United States nearly all of whom have been, at least until very recently, uninformed on the events in Santo Domingo and Haiti during the last five years? *A.* The only message I have for the liberty- and justice-loving people of the United States is that it seems impossible that the same people who so generously poured out and shed the blood of the best of its manhood in defense of liberty should at the same time deprive a small liberty-loving people of that same liberty and independence which has been their birthright and privilege for almost a century.

Q. What course should in your judgment be followed by the Dominican people if the response of the present American Government falls short of fulfilling their aspirations? *A.* The only course I know of is to trust in God to whom we trust our destinies and wait patiently.

In the Driftway

WHO could resist this appeal sent out by a club in New York: "Members who have taken books from the Library, by mistake or otherwise, are requested to return them before January 1st"?

* * * * *

ONE cannot evade the clutches of the advertising manager of the Muskogee (Oklahoma) *Cimeter*. Says he in an announcement on the first page of that journal: "If your business isn't worth advertising, advertise it for sale in the *Cimeter*."

* * * * *

EVEN an editor is occasionally the recipient of something other than jeers and curses. True, he doesn't deserve and rarely expects it. Taken by and large he is a

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careless blighter, losing most of the manuscripts consigned to his care and either sending the others back dog-eared and sown with cigarette ashes or printing them in a form which causes the writer to wish they hadn't been. For confirmation of these statements, ask any author. Or, for the matter of that, ask any editor. He will not deny it. An editor doesn't deny anything—he just sneaks away. His life is like that of a stray cat; whenever he sees a window raised he expects a brick, and he learns to arch his back and scoot at the approach of any human, knowing that he is about to be blamed for something he has published, or asked to print something so impossible that even—accomplished scoundrel that he is—he couldn't oblige.

* * * * *

ALL of which is merely preliminary to remarking that an editor does not expect to share in the general amnesty and good-will of the holiday season. Yet, as said at the outset, he sometimes fares better than he deserves or expects—even an editor of *The Nation*. For one of them has shown the Drifter a card just received. It came from a contributor who has never received anything but an unbroken flow of the conventional rejection slips. Yet one would never have guessed this from the gay bunch of holly at the top of the card and the salutation below: "Edward H. ———— thanks you for your courteous reading of his manuscripts, and wishes you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year." What could even a grouch of an editor do but wish the sender the same? THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Forest Service in Danger

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: One of the great constructive achievements of President Roosevelt is in danger. A serious attack on the United States Forest Service will soon be in the news from Washington. In the House the Curry Bill (H. R. 5964), in the Senate the King Bill (S. 2740) and the New Bill (S. 2382) provide for transferring the Forest Service in whole or in part from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of the Interior. In the Department of Agriculture, where they are now, the Forest Service and the national forests are safe, and so well managed that (except for certain special interests) they have won the unanimous support of the nation. Their purpose is to grow trees, and they belong naturally in the Department which has to do with growing all crops, including tree crops, from the soil. The Interior Department is the real-estate agent of the Government. It is not the business of a real-estate agent to grow crops on forest or farm. As a matter of fact, when the Interior Department had charge of the national forests, years ago, they were so badly handled that President Roosevelt was forced to insist upon their transfer to the Department of Agriculture. The modern progress of forestry in America dates from that change.

It is well understood in Washington that the same interests that attempted to gobble up the natural resources of Alaska in Secretary Ballinger's time are at it again. The best stalking-horse of the men behind the grab is the claim that Alaska is going backward. The fact is that from 1910 to 1920 the exports from Alaska have increased from $13,608,394 to $62,469,096, or 366 per cent, while during the same ten years the exports from the United States increased from $1,866,258,904 to $8,228,016,307, or 340 per cent. The national forests in Alaska, if they can be saved, will produce two million cords of pulpwood annually for all time, or enough to supply one-third of the present needs of the United States. The Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture has completed plans for developing this great resource in a way to open it to the public but keep the grabbers out.

More than half our timber is gone already. Only one-sixth of our virgin forests remains, and they are being cut at a rate that will destroy them entirely before twenty-five years. Only a little more unrestricted forest devastation will bring down upon us the dangerous hardships of a timber famine. The cost of pulpwood and lumber is already proof enough of the stage to which the scarcity has already advanced, and of what is still ahead.

Unless the friends of forestry take up this matter in earnest, its enemies will win out. If they do, it will mean the ruin of the Forest Service, the wreck of the movement for forest protection in America, and higher prices for forest products of every kind.

Philadelphia, December 21 GIFFORD PINCHOT

It Happened in Pittsburgh

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: An out-of-the-way hall in Pittsburgh was crowded by 1,600 enthusiastic men and women at a disarmament and peace meeting addressed by Jane Addams, although hardly a notice of it had appeared in any of the Pittsburgh papers and the church federation had declined to sponsor the assemblage. Three days later the largest auditorium easily available, the Soldiers' Memorial Hall, was the scene of the "official" disarmament meeting, in which the American Legion, the Red Cross, the Gold-Star Mothers, the churches of all denominations, and the public schools joined. Among the speakers were two bishops, Pittsburgh's foremost rabbi, the State commander of the Legion, the superintendent of schools, other educators, and clergymen of prominence; and an orchestra under competent leadership dispensed music. The newspapers had boomed the meeting on their first pages. The attendance was 200. Pittsburghers are sometimes decried by the people of other cities as slow in civic vision, but they know the difference between a real friend of peace and the peace fakers who are climbing upon the band-wagon.

Pittsburgh, December 16 GEORGE SEIBEL

The Workers' Standard of Living

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your editorial in the issue of October 12, entitled Our Declining Standard of Living, cites an article by Miss Lamberson and myself as proving that the standard of living of the American wage-earner has declined appreciably in the last thirty years. I must protest at this misinterpretation of what our article really did demonstrate.

Our article did show that the purchasing power of wages per hour had decreased by 1918 from 10 to 20 per cent below the 1890-99 level, but as we explicitly stated, it did not prove that real actual earnings per week or per year had also declined. This obviously depends not only on rates per hour but on the number of hours worked; so that a decrease in the former may be offset by an increase in the latter. Moreover, in the case of family earnings, the results are complicated by the fact that there may be more members of the family gainfully employed at one period than at another.

In a larger sense, perhaps, the confusion of your editorial writer rests upon an ambiguous use of the term "standard of living." If by that he means that a worker in 1918 could earn less with an equal amount of time spent at work, he is, I believe, correct; although this unit of time may consist of less arduous work than before. But, if he uses the standard of living in its only accepted sense, namely, the amount of goods and service that a workman or his family can purchase weekly or

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annually, then that conclusion is a *non sequitur* from the results of our investigation. If, in the third place, he is thinking of "labor welfare" in its broader aspects, that would depend on whether the worker and his family were underemployed or overemployed in the beginning, and whether the increase in the amount of time that he and his family worked outweighed the benefits derived from the increased earnings.

Chicago, October 19 PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Mr. Mencken's Mustard

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I just wish to say how I enjoyed the article by Mencken in the Book Supplement in last week's *Nation*. It is the best thing I've read in a long time. Give us more Mencken. He hits the truth every time and is refreshing as cool water on the face after the usual 100 per cent platitudes and bunk one has to read in the regular magazines and papers. I don't believe he stated the case too strongly either.

Tacoma, Washington, December 14 A SUBSCRIBER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: With reference to the excellent article by H. L. Mencken, on Living in the United States (December 7, 1921), which article ought to be read by every true American, I may be permitted to make a few additional remarks, as the esteemed writer has not analyzed the real root of the evil. As every individual is the product of his education, a nation as a whole is the product of existing educational conditions. Now everybody who has eyes to see and ears to hear must admit that education in this country is of the lowest standard, and even H. G. Wells in his "Outline of History" is compelled to say: "America is an uneducated country" (p. 848). This undeniable fact, however, is not surprising if we take in account the other fact that the task of educating the masses is nearly exclusively in the hands of ignorant girls or women. The schools, from the grade schools to the universities, are over-feminized and it is this over-feminization of the schools that has brought about the conditions we are witnessing every day and everywhere.

Denver, Colorado, December 13 CHARLES L. HENNING

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: My gorge rises in a fight and I want to kill. At times I share with other zoological animals the qualities that are responsible for their being behind iron bars, or being shot. This savage unconscious of mine is highly diverted by H. L. Mencken's *diatribe Américaine* in your issue of December 7. I would have dearly loved to indulge my spleenful scorn in the nicety and delicacy of language Mr. Mencken employs. But why pick on Americans alone as examples of boobs, crooks, and hypocrites? Any other people on earth is just as deserving of Menckenism. Bernard Shaw's castigation of the stolid Britishers—in a prose and content of idea far beyond Mencken—had amused the British until the war showed him a common scold. As the English enjoyed being abused by Shaw, so Americans like the brutal persiflage of Mencken—and for the same reason. Each and every American thinks himself too intelligent to be the target for Mencken's venom, admiringly indorses it as aimed at his neighbor, and takes a vicarious satisfaction in brutality his humaneness inhibits. I look at it philosophically. The Americans enjoyed unmerited and extravagant praise ante-bellum. Now Mr. Mencken is one among many engaged in serving them just as large a dish—of crow.

Cleveland, December 16 LOUIS SIEGEL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The outpouring of Mr. H. L. Mencken in the current issue of *The Nation* is a curious vindication of the author's own thesis. His rather old-fashioned assumption of European superiority to America in all respects, even to the degree of obscenity in its bishops, commends itself for commonplaceness. But a two-page survey of the entire scope of American life, from the *Saturday Evening Post* to the Roosevelt Dynasty of Mountebanks, would seem incomplete without a recognition that American life is in no way more picturesque than in the ingenuousness of our intelligentsia in submitting to the obfuscations of a critic so blind to all the nuances as Mr. Mencken shows himself to be. A critic like Mr. Mencken is, in fact, the very crown of American absurdity.

West La Fayette, Ind., December 7 LOUIS MARTIN SEARS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The braying of a pompous jackass! If this most undesirable freak does not fancy the United States, let him leave the country for the country's good.

Santa Barbara, California, December 18 C. E. STOWE

Gandhi's Spiritual Mentors

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Let me congratulate you upon the most splendid thing you ever did by putting before your readers three excellent articles from the pen of American, English, and Indian writers on Gandhi and the situation in India.

The association of Eugene V. Debs's name with Gandhi's is a mutual honor—both to the American and the Hindu. While Gandhi has "the untiring energy of Roosevelt, the human sympathy of Debs, and the philosophy of Tolstoi," let it not be forgotten that Gandhi has found in Thoreau a kindred spirit. With the American naturalist-revolutionist, Gandhi believes that "that government is the best which governs the least," and that "it is not proper to cultivate a respect for the law so much as for the right." Thoreau, Tolstoi, and Ruskin seem to have been his spiritual mentors. Particularly Ruskin's "Unto This Last" seems to have revolutionized his whole career. After a perusal of that book, Gandhi gave up his violin lessons and dancing lessons and devoted his undivided attention to studies. It is this book which definitely laid the germ of his social theory and conception. Gandhi does not reason and argue as does Bernard Shaw. Neither is he gifted with the Shavian wit and humor. But his indictment of modern civilization is equally caustic.

New York, December 20 HARIDAS MUZUMDAS

Red-Blooded Vegetarians

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I say a word of protest against the injustice to vegetarianism in the sentence "Red-blooded meat-eaters fight with pallid vegetarians over his emaciated body" in the article Average Citizen Sees It Through of December 7 number? In the first place, vegetarianism cannot be justly compared with other food-fads because it stands for the high cause of humaneness that would do away with the degrading, brutalizing business of slaughtering and all that belongs to it, as well as with its unavoidable accompaniment of cruelty and suffering to animals.

In the second place the fallacy that vegetarians are pallid and have emaciated bodies is entirely out of place in a good, reliable, broad magazine like *The Nation*. The times have passed when the early death of vegetarians was predicted because their opponents could not imagine that they could live without meat and pictured them as near-skeletons eating the grass at waste places.

Of course, people who are jealous about my husband's youthful looks and sleek appearance won't believe him when he tells them that he is a vegetarian. They balk at leaving the fleshpots, so it suits them better to imagine that he secretly takes some newly invented elixir like gland-juice or similar bunk. Such is human nature.

Redwood City, Cal., December 16 MRS. W. H. VAN RHYN

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Books

The Roving Critic

WHO now reads Edgar Saltus? There was recently some talk about a collected edition of his works; two of them have been included in the canon of a publishing house which confines itself primarily to Voltaire, Gibbon, Paine, Haeckel, Schopenhauer, Ingersoll, and such freethinkers; and yet I suspect that Saltus, whose recent death called out its average share of obituaries, is as little known as any American writer of his rank and interest. Certainly he is one of the strangest figures the record of native literature has to show.

He stood out conspicuously as a *fin de siècle* man (how that term has lost its magic!) in a country which the *fin de siècle* scarcely touched at all with its graceful, graceless maladies. He began his career, after a really penetrating study of Balzac, with "The Philosophy of Disenchantment" and "The Anatomy of Negation," erudite, witty challenges to romantic illusion, deriving primarily from Hartmann and Schopenhauer but enriching their arguments with much inquisitive learning in current French philosophers and poets. Erudition, however, was not Saltus's sole equipment. His pessimism came in part from his literary masters but in part also from a temperament which steadily followed its own impulses and arrived at its own destinations. Thoroughly cynical, thoroughly deracinated from the homely American soil which in the early eighties was sprouting few flowers of evil, he followed his speculative doubts to that point at which they brought him to the positive realities of sense, and became the historian of love and loveliness in various sumptuous, perverse phases. In "Mary Magdalen" (Brentano's) he dressed up the traditional courtesan in the splendors of purple and gold and perfumed her with many quaint dangerous essences considerably more exciting than her later career as a penitent. In "Imperial Purple" (Brentano's), recently given some fame by the approbation of a President, Saltus undertook a chronicle of the Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Heliogabalus, exhibiting them in all the most splendid of their extravagances and sins. In "Historia Amoris" (Brentano's) he followed the trail of love and in "The Lords of the Ghostland" (Brentano's) the trail of faith through the annals of mankind, with a pageantry richly suitable to the occasions. What was to be made of these brilliant, bitter volumes by a generation which liked both its romance and its realism to be sweet and kindly?

Of course nothing much was done. Saltus's principal diet was neglect. Nor did he fare much better with his novels of contemporary life. I myself think them the least notable of all his writings. The characters in them do not convince; his plots are mostly melodrama; his worldly wisdom has smirks and postures in it; his style, now sharp, now sagging, is unequal. He could not, it seems, safely dispense with antiquity and remoteness in his art. Only when he was buried in the deep world of ancient story or when he was ranging through the widest fields of time did he become most himself. Then he invited no comparison with the familiar actualities which he could not manage—perhaps because they often bored him. Then he could assemble the most magnificent glories according to his whims and could drape them in the most gorgeous stuffs. What especially touched his imagination was the spectacle of Imperial Rome, as interpreted to him by French decadence: that lust for power and sensation; those incredible temples, palaces, feasts, revelries, blasphemies, butcheries. Dreaming of them he let his imagination brood until he became the Satanist of America.

As he had begun with a beauty which knew no bounds he moved on to lust or satiety or impotence for his theme; in the end he brought little but a glittering ferocity to that cold chronicle of the czars from Ivan to Catherine, "The Imperial Orgy" (Boni and Liveright). To the last, however, his phrases never failed him, flashing like gems or snakes and clasping his exuberant materials in almost the only discipline they ever had.

What held him back from utter lusciousness was wit. Though he employed Corinthian cadences and diction he kept continually checking them with the cynic twist of some deft colloquialism. That he had also a sense for form appears in his neat proportions and pungent brevity. He is one of the least verbose of romancers. His matter may be pulpy, but his diction and his proportions are firm, even hard. "Imperial Purple," which is his masterpiece, was written thirty years ago, and the mood of diabolism out of which it proceeded has passed out of fashion. Yet considered merely as a pageant of beauty and horror it is quite as fresh and vivid as it ever was. The antiseptic of art has been at work. So, of course, has the eminently preservative salt of irony.

A GOOD many people think that honesty is a trait which a man chooses out of the various traits offered him by life. Perhaps it is nearer the truth to think that honesty is a gift, and innate, like a man's complexion or the shape of his skull. It can be hurt by abuse or encouraged by proper treatment, but its roots are deeper than experience. Clarence Day, Jr. must have been born honest and he has, so far as I can see, never done anything to waste his birthright. The eyes with which he looks at things are as level as E. W. Howe's, but his language is lighter and his fancy nimbler. In "This Simian World" it was his fancy which perhaps did most to get him a hearing. In "The Crow's Nest" (Knopf), without giving up his fancy, he ranges over more varied fields than in his first book and seems even wiser. He has a perfect temper. He has known pain but it has not soured him—or at least his book. He has known passion but it has left no visible ruts or hummocks in his mind. He has done all that a human being can do with his reason but he feels no resentment that reason at its best can do so little. Having a perfect temper he sits at ease in his crow's nest and surveys the deck, the sailors, rival ships, the waves, the horizon, and the sky, without heat, of course, but also without pride in his position or in his self-control. Having a perfect temper he is not harried into any violence of style by his instinct to express himself. As shrewd as a proverb, he never plays with epigrams. As much of a poet as he needs to be, he yet seems to have no need for eloquence. Such lucidity as his is both prudent and elevated.

He is primarily an anthropologist, as he showed in "This Simian World." The race of man is for him "a fragile yet aspiring species on a stormy old star." It has lived a long while and has gone a long way from its original slime, but plenty of the old stains still color its nature. Its impulses are tangled with the impulses of the ape and with the inhibitions of the amoeba. "The test of a civilized person is first self-awareness, and then depth after depth of sincerity in self-confrontation." By this test Mr. Day is thoroughly civilized. Nor does he merely search his own mind and admit what he finds there. He observes others with the same awareness and the same sincerity. Hardy, he sees, takes his pleasure in portraying gloom. "That's fair," says Mr. Day. Shaw has had a vision of the rational life that men might lead and can never stop insisting that they lead it: a master of comedy when he paints the contrast and rather tiresome when he insists too much. Maeterlinck is king in the realms of romance he has created, like any other child; he is also a child when it comes to judging the "real" world. We know what Fabre thinks of wasps, but we wish we knew what the wasps think of Fabre. Mr. Day's ideas are never gummed together with their hereditary associations. He talks always as if he had just come into this universe and were reporting it for other persons as intelligent as he. What a compliment to mankind! And what a compliment to mankind, too, that he should find it quite unnecessary to lecture it! A whimsical fable, a transparent allegory, a scrap of biography, a few verses, a humorous picture—these are his only devices.

CARL VAN DOREN

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More Roosevelt

My Brother, Theodore Roosevelt. By Corinne Roosevelt Robinson. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

Publications of the Roosevelt Memorial Association: I. *Roosevelt in the Bad Lands.* By Hermann Hagedorn. $5. II. *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star.* By Ralph Stout. $4. Houghton Mifflin Company.

CRITICISM is disarmed by the preface of "My Brother, Theodore Roosevelt." Mrs. Robinson wishes to share her intimate personal memories with the people who loved Roosevelt and whom he loved. Readers in an appraising mood would therefore do well to lay the book aside and wait for some future Lytton Strachey's "Eminent Progressives." Mrs. Robinson never entered the White House without "a romantic feeling of excitement" at the thought that it was her brother, "lover of Lincoln, lover of America, who lived under the roof which symbolized all that America means to her children." This romantic feeling of excitement pervades the book, dictating superlatives and exclamatory parentheses, and constantly underscoring the obvious.

Roosevelt's letters are too terse and lucid to require the line for line exegesis of an obscure classic. But to a clear and graceful little note of four lines Mrs. Robinson prefixes a dozen lines of superfluous interpretation. In another note the boy Roosevelt records the death of a mouse in his menagerie: "It was the mouse I liked best though it was a common mouse." "That last sentence," writes Mrs. Robinson, requoting it in full, "brought the tears to my eyes. How true to type it was! The common mouse was the one he liked best of all—never the rare exotic thing, but the everyday, the plain, the simple; and he probably liked it so much because the little common mouse had shown courage and vitality and affection. All through Theodore Roosevelt's life it was to the plain and simple things and to the plain and simple people that he gave his most loyal devotion." That little common mouse should be sent to join Uncle Toby's fly in some paradise of sentimentalists. One begins to understand why President Roosevelt once urged his sister, reporting to him on Porto Rican affairs, to be "as condensed as possible."

Fortunately Mrs. Robinson is not guilty of annotating jokes. Humorous episodes and situations reveal Roosevelt more clearly, just because they have escaped a bath of sentiment. When he was Police Commissioner of New York, German brewer societies, disapproving of his enforcement of certain laws, invited him, as a fine stroke of irony, to review their parade of protest. He unexpectedly accepted. One company, as it bore its "Down with Teddy" banners past the reviewing stand, shouted, "Wo ist Teddy?" "Hier bin ich!" called out the Police Commissioner, with a good-humored flash of his teeth, and the protests gave way to cheers.

Senator Platt, Republican boss of New York State when Roosevelt was governor, had less appreciation than the brewers of Roosevelt's humor. Many times when the boss sought a really intimate little talk with the governor, after their breakfast in Mrs. Robinson's home, the governor would invite him up to the library where "we shall be quite private except for my sister. I always like to have her present at all my conferences—she takes so much interest in what I am doing." "Haven't *we* had fun being governor of New York State?" he once exclaimed to her. It is his great gift of sharing that she emphasizes. And in spite of the clouds of incense that blur the outlines, a picture of a very satisfying and beautiful human relationship does emerge from Mrs. Robinson's pages, as it emerged from the pages of Roosevelt's letters to his children.

"Teedie is out shooting now," wrote his little sister during their winter on the Nile in 1873. "He is quite professionist in shooting, skinning, and stuffing, and he is so satisfied." The professionist's experience ten years later in the Bad Lands of Dakota was flavored with the zest of all the shooting, skinning, and stuffing his heart could desire. Mr. Hagedorn's entertaining narrative presents him as he was "when he had bark on," when he was still very much of a boy, who delighted in blood-curdling things and "had a weakness for murderers" that Little Missouri and Medora in the eighties were quite prepared to indulge. Mr. Hagedorn endeavors to stage a drama, in which Roosevelt and the Marquis de Mores, a picturesque millionaire dreamer of grandiose dreams, typify democracy and feudalism in conflict, the new and the old ethics. He is only partly successful; one keeps expecting dramatic crises that fail to come off, though the two men did almost fight a duel. But Roosevelt probably helped to establish the reign of law when he captured Bad Man Finnegan and two horse thieves, and lodged them in jail after a difficult three-hundred-mile journey. For he puzzled the natives and made them think. "What I can't make out," one of them remarked, "is why you make all this fuss instead of hanging them off-hand!" The book, with its studies of picturesque and vanishing types and its many vivid and amusing frontier incidents, is more than a short chapter in Roosevelt's life—it is an interesting contribution to the history of the American frontier.

That there was very little quarreling and fighting among the cow-punchers on the round-up Roosevelt ascribed to the fact that all of them were armed; and when a quarrel was likely to end fatally, men hesitated to embark upon it. He may have been right. But what was true on the Dakota frontier may not be true on the international frontier, in spite of superficial analogies.

And yet it is just this frontier preparedness that is Roosevelt's chief contribution to the problem of world relationships, so far as his war-time editorials in the Kansas City *Star* reveal his mind. A league, perhaps—like a rough association of Dakota cattle-owners—but every man carrying his gun. Universal compulsory military training for our young men is an obsession that ignores argument. Surely the possibilities of chemical warfare had become sufficiently apparent by 1918 to demand some alteration in the technique of preparedness. It is a simple frontier psychology, too, that leads Roosevelt to accept the Angel-Allies and Devil-Huns mythology. There were bad men and there were honest men on the frontier; there are bad nations and there are honest nations. Nothing could be more depressing at the moment than these war-time editorials of Theodore Roosevelt—except perhaps the war-time speeches of Woodrow Wilson. It may be that they speeded up the war, and that their outspoken criticism of the administration kept burning a feeble spark of free discussion. The discernment that in October, 1918, led Roosevelt to dismiss the Fourteen Points as "scraps of paper" affords us a momentary gleam of cynical satisfaction. But the gleam is promptly extinguished by the suspicion that his open contempt may have helped to make scraps of paper of them. "Point Six deals with Russia. It probably means nothing." It did mean nothing, as the sequel showed. But defenders of Wilson, who claim that his failure at Versailles was due to lack of support at home, can argue from many passages like this that his enemies undermined the confidence of the people. Did Roosevelt prick a balloon of rhetoric, or scuttle a ship?

An editorial footnote claims for Roosevelt "positive genius for international relations." This genius is darkly revealed in a conception of the peace settlement entirely in terms of political boundaries and of reparations; in a misconception of the Russian situation as complete as Wilson's; and in two incidental proposals that are full of unconscious humor: that the United States should, if necessary, *guarantee the payment of a Japanese army* operating with Americans and English in Siberia to restore Russia to the Russians; and that at the peace conference the United States must be at pains to insist that Great Britain retain all the colonies wrested from Germany! Picture Mr. Lloyd George's reluctant yielding to our insistence, and the smile on the face of the Tiger.

DOROTHY BREWSTER

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Different Observers

Edge of the Jungle. By William Beebe. Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.
London River. By H. M. Tomlinson. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.
The Man in the Street. By Meredith Nicholson. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

ASIDE from the fact that these three volumes are all composed of detached "prose pieces" they offer no aspects of similarity to the inquiring eye. Each author is concerned with the fruits of his observation, though, for that matter, so is almost every author. But observers differ and their differences are interesting to observe.

Midway in "Edge of the Jungle" I was struck with poignant regret that I had not read Mr. Beebe's other books; the anticipation of reading them furnished consolation. If this scientist and author had devoted his days to a desk laden with sedulous manuscripts, instead of spending his life in dark corners of the earth searching for "strange new facts," he could scarcely have achieved a style more charming or more admirably modeled to his thought than that which he possesses. His writing is always lucid; he exhibits an impeccable taste in verbal imagery; and he can, when he chooses, carry off a lyric flight without faltering or appearance of affectation. Apart from all other qualities, "Edge of the Jungle" is notable for its purely literary excellence.

The essays in this collection are, with one exception, all concerned with "the jungle immediately about the Tropical Research Station of the New York Zoological Society, situated at Kartabo, at the junction of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni Rivers, in British Guiana." Mr. Beebe has done his scientific duty by this busy patch of jungle; but he has done much more than this. These essays were not written by a scientist obsessed by a single goal, with his eyes undeviatingly fixed upon a narrow track of research; we find in them the observations and the reflections of a man blessed with a prodigious curiosity, a sound mind, and five senses all functioning perfectly, who is fascinated by life in its most trivial and its most overwhelming manifestations. The author may, as he informs us, sign his "passport applications and jury evasions as Crnithologist," but his curiosity is delimited by no professional category: butterfly eggs resting upon a swaying leaf and the nebula of Andromeda are both within the scope of his interest, both are stimulating and provocative of contemplation.

It is the acuteness, and inclusiveness, of Mr. Beebe's vision which first impresses the reader of these essays; soon, however, one discovers that this professionally invaluable gift has not involved the sacrifice of other senses in its development. The author thrills to the sheer color of a Cotinga, but he is no less keenly aware of the swish of a falling bamboo or of the odor of a giant bug wafted down a jungle gorge. And for Mr. Beebe the plant named Victoria Regia is "a thing to be reverently absorbed by sight, by scent, by touch, absorbed and realized without precedent or limit." In this abandon of his senses to the manifold impacts of nature the author reveals himself as an artist rather than as a scientist. But it is his full and exact scientific knowledge alone which enables him to set down in words his facts and his reflections. The result is a poem no less lovely because it belongs to the scientific rather than the impressionistic school. Mr. Beebe by some thaumaturgic gift succeeds in transmitting his own enthusiasms to his reader, and insects, birds, and plants, whose proper names are Latin and fearsomely unfamiliar, appear as fascinating protagonists in an engrossing natural drama.

Mr. Tomlinson is an author who can make the literary most of any given subject, and the more commonplace the surface aspects of his subject the happier he seems to be. He belongs to the school of writers who invest the ordinary with romance and the trivial with portentous significance. An example will clearly illustrate my meaning. In A Midnight Voyage he writes: "The shadow of the master of our black barge pulled at his sweep with a slow confidence that was fearful amid what was sightless and unknown. His pipe glowed, as with the profanity of an immortal to whom eternity and infinity are of the usual significance." This rich passage is concerned only with a barge-master guiding his craft on the homely Thames journey from Limehouse Hole to Bugsby's Reach. Mr. Tomlinson's method cloaks this voyage in a vesture of romance. But one wonders, after reading a number of these lavish passages, what unguessed vocabulary the author could plunder for the recording of life's major emotions and events.

In "London River" Mr. Tomlinson is preoccupied with a London shipping parish—Poplar—and with the men and ships that sailed, and sail, from there. And through the whole book, through essays and fiction alike, runs, like a single melancholy theme, the lament that sail has been driven from the seas by steam. This is a theme with which we are moderately familiar, and in Mr. Tomlinson's rendering we find no original variations. In this matter I do not think that the author has done his duty by his readers. It is not enough to murmur reverently, as though they possessed some esoteric power, the many names of forgotten clippers. Unless the reader knows something of these ships their names are impotent syllables that conjure up no dreams. Nor is it enough to hint with tireless reiteration at the romance that lurked in lithe hulls, towering spars, and spidery cordage. If the reader has not known this romance for himself these hints convey to him no accurate images, but only a vague sense of something he has missed. The lament without the justification grows wearisome. Let the lovers of the old windjammers tell the story of them, as Conrad did in "The Nigger of the Narcissus" or as David W. Bone did in "The Brassbounder." Then the landlubber reader appreciates what all the wailing is about. It is interesting to note, in passing, that despite his love of sail Mr. Tomlinson's most compelling story of the sea, in the present volume, is Off-Shore, a tale of steam, of the trawlers on the Dogger Bank. In this story there is no vague suggestion; there is vivid and authentic detail.

Reading "The Man in the Street" convinces one that Mr. Nicholson does not belong among the very few authors who, as Remy de Gourmont once said, can collect their casual writings without appearing at once presumptuous and absurd. Neither in content nor in style is there any virtue in these "Papers on American Topics" which would warrant culling them from the magazines in which they originally appeared. Mr. Nicholson writes on Main Street, on Politics, on the American Novel, on the English Language; and on all these subjects he is consistently unillumined and unilluminating. His essay on James Whitcomb Riley possesses only an anecdotal value. For the most part these papers consist of banalities garbed from an abounding wardrobe of clichés.

BEN RAY REDMAN

Trotzky's Terror

The Defence of Terrorism. By Leon Trotsky. With a Preface by H. N. Brailsford. London: The Labour Publishing Company.

"THE Defence of Terrorism" is an indignant answer to the criticism of bolshevist methods and of the Third International by the German Karl Kautsky in his "Terrorism and Communism." Trotzky's book is the heated product of a relentlessly realistic thinker, involved in gigantic difficulties through which he hews his way and the way of the proletariat to what he firmly believes is a better state for humanity. "We are fighting for the Communist International and for the international proletarian revolution." This expression of war psychology, of a revolutionist fully self-conscious and unafraid, will undoubtedly shock people who are used to taking their history calmly, as an affair of the past, and to looking upon prog-

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ress as always orderly and upon democracy as the last word of civilized perfection. Those who perceive the cruelties in all evolution will find here only an outspoken analysis of the most important political event since 1789 and will be helped by this book to understand both the Russian leaders and their enemies.

The struggle between the "polar classes," the capitalists and the proletariat, Trotzky sees as no more bitter in Russia than it was in the French Revolution or in the later Commune, nor than it will be in the world-wide class war which he assumes as inevitable in the near future; for everywhere "hostile class forces . . . are striving to find their balance in a merciless struggle." He argues always from the observed fact, the actual situation of Europe before, during, and after the Great War—"the last imperialistic slaughter"—which proved the failure of democracy even to glimpse an international mind. In fact, democracy has invented nothing better than parliamentarism, the political expression of the generally dominant middle class, and that is only "an institution of confused chatter and legislative obstruction."

The failure of the bourgeoisie in every important human function, Trotzky argues, has thus forced upon the proletariat the necessity of "seizing the state power as such, independently of the middle class and even against it—not against its interests [i.e., its real, human interests] but against its stupidity and its policy." And once this seizure of power has become necessary, it follows as the day the night that the resultant class war will not be child's play. The people have too long been tricked and oppressed by "reforms," "liberalism," and the pretense of "compulsory education" which "holds them on the verge of complete ignorance"; the leaders of the people, at least, see through these bluffs, and when chance and skill draw power into their hands they must determine to hold it by every method in their grasp.

But the leader of the Red Army asserts there would have been no Red Terror without the White Terror which preceded it. "In Petrograd we conquered power in November, 1917, almost without bloodshed and even without arrests." Then French and British and American interests backed Kolchak, nominee of Wall Street, and a long line of similar adventurers, and forced civil war on Russia. Nevertheless, "at the moment when the White Guards shoot every Communist without exception, the Red Army spares all prisoners without exception."

The terrorism of the Soviet Government, thus defended, is seen to be precisely the same "military necessity" that has caused so much cruelty and yet has been so often defended by other dominant leaders—the last resort of men in a desperate situation, the tool of a group who have the world against them. Which is the worse crime, to speak out, as Trotzky does, in defense of one's convictions, boldly recognizing the facts of civil war, or to skulk behind a venal press into the obscurity that veils the American bourgeois terrorism in Colorado and Pennsylvania and Mingo County, West Virginia? Those who shriek most loudly in horror over the aims and methods of the Bolshevists admitted in Trotzky's book will be either Tolstoian pacifists or those respectable citizens who ignore or defend the employers of gunmen enforcing their interested conceptions of the established order on thousands of their helpless fellow-men whom in this enlightened country they are successfully keeping in a state little better than slavery.

WINIFRED SMITH

Eagle and Worm

King Cole. By John Masefield. With drawings in black and white by Judith Masefield. The Macmillan Company. $1.75.
The Pier-Glass. By Robert Graves. Alfred A. Knopf. $1.25.

THOMAS HARDY excepted, probably no poet in England today measures with either of the two maturest Americans, Mr. Robinson and Mr. Frost. Possibly no British pair has given such distinction to literature within a generation. A few do small things well, and many are interesting for qualities or the promise of qualities; but quiet consistency is as rare across the Atlantic as that other thing which everywhere and always is rare, profundity.

Mr. Masefield, it is beginning to be clear, cannot perform the prodigies which he promised ten years ago when he first struck the public as a narrative poet. He struck it hard with "The Everlasting Mercy," "The Widow in the Bye Street," "Dauber," and "The Daffodil Fields," but it is more and more doubtful whether his blows did more than black its eyes and confound its ears. It was his business to rattle it out of its sleep with racket and speed, cacophony and melodrama. Awake now, it calls for beauty and strength. Mr. Masefield does not respond, at least in his narratives. His songs, and especially his sonnets, which are as powerful and rich as any this generation can boast, have shown him growing; his narratives on the whole have not improved.

Too little of his melody is great or fine; too much of his philosophy is puerile. There were stanzas at the beginning of "The Daffodil Fields" that perhaps no living poet could surpass for sweetness and run, and some of the stanzas in "King Cole" are pretty. But rhyme is Mr. Masefield's bane. The careless clatter of his ending-words, once so refreshing, is now an annoyance; if he is not ashamed, a sensitive reader is. And what does an intelligent reader do with such commentary upon human life as the following?

> He watched the night; then taking up his flute,
> He breathed a piping of this life of ours,
> The half-seen prize, the difficult pursuit,
> The passionate lusts that shut us in their towers,
> The love that helps us on, the fear that lowers,
> The pride that makes us and the pride that mars,
> The beauty and the truth that are our stars.

He puts it hastily, almost guiltily by. Mr. Masefield is anything but a critic of human nature. The present poem makes King Cole a survivor of many centuries who pokes about England bringing happiness out of distress. He meets a traveling show discouraged in the mire and turns all rosy for the showman and his wife. It would not be fair to demand an epic where a fairy story has been intended. The point is that Mr. Masefield has not been content to write a fairy story. Upon the agreeable old figure of his King he has foisted a lot of stuff about Life and Death and Fate; he has attempted to be real, and to describe human beings. Significantly enough, he has succeeded better in describing animals:

> And with them, walking by the vans, there came
> The wild things from the woodland and the mead,
> The red stag, with his tender-stepping dame,
> Branched, and high-tongued and ever taking heed.
> Nose-wrinkling rabbits nibbling at the weed,
> The hares that box by moonlight on the hill,
> The bright trout's death, the otter from the mill.
>
> There, with his mask made virtuous, came the fox,
> Talking of landscape while he thought of meat;
> Blood-loving weasels, honey-harrying brocks,
> Stoats, and the mice that build among the wheat,
> Dormice, and moles with little hands for feet,
> The water-rat that gnaws the yellow flag,
> Toads from the stone and merrows from the quag.

That is the poet of the second part of "Reynard the Fox." It is a pity that we get no more of him.

"Mr. Graves is obviously a boy who wishes to show he is not afraid of his maiden aunt. Now, poetry is not concerned with maiden aunts at all. And it is just as bad art to write in order to annoy your maiden aunt . . . as to write in order to please her, as Wordsworth and Tennyson now and then did. She ought to be kept out of the case altogether." So Robert Graves was disposed of two years ago before the British Academy by John Bailey. Leaving aside the question how much

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criticism has to do with maiden aunts, a reader of this third volume by Mr. Graves to appear in America will readily say that Mr. Bailey was unfair. The author of "Fairies and Fusiliers," "Country Sentiment," and "The Pier-Glass" is more than smart; he is interesting. Probably he is far from being important just yet, but he is pretty sure to be watched. He is one of several young poets in England since the war who have gone in for what in the seventeenth century was called "wit writing." "Wit," said William Davenant, "is the laborious and the lucky resultances of thought. . . . It is a web consisting of the subtlest threads; and like that of the spider is considerately woven out of our selves. . . . Wit is not only the luck and labor, but also the dexterity of thought, rounding the world, like the sun, with unimaginable motion, and bringing swiftly home to the memory universal surveys." This makes for clever poetry, but cold. We get the same dry satisfaction from watching the faculties of Mr. Graves and his kind work that Cowley's contemporaries got from watching his. When there is to be no passion or imagination, let there at least be ingenuity. Rather than let the fancy die, let it eat its way, as Mr. Graves's does, with a quaint, excessive persistence through heap on heap of metaphysical and psychological conceit—

Tunneling gradually inwards, upwards,
Heading for flowery pastures of the brain.

MARK VAN DOREN

Drama

Theater Without Drama

THE expected has happened. Our vast theatrical organization is bankrupt for want of plays. A new theater has been opened on Forty-ninth Street. The play is foolish and futile. The handsome new National Theater is housing a revival of "Trilby." The current season has brought one hundred and four productions to Broadway. Sixteen are successes, fifty-three obvious failures, the rest hover on the edge of ruin. The result has been something like a panic. And the best remedy of which the commercial managers could bethink themselves was to substitute for the imbecilities of today the imbecilities of yesterday—"Bought and Paid For," "Alias Jimmy Valentine," "The Squaw Man." They have nursed actors and architects and decorators; they have foregathered and conspired with subservient hacks and contemned or insulted any man or woman of letters who thought of adventuring upon dramatic composition. They have risked the present and future of dramatic literature for box-office receipts. Now the box-office receipts have failed them and there is no drama. Uneasily they are awakening to a sense that something is wrong.

The better type of manager necessarily shares the immediate misfortune of the worse. Mr. Arthur Hopkins has had the good taste and sagacity to produce Eugene O'Neill's "Anna Christie." But desiring a vehicle for Lionel Barrymore he grasped after an early and quite brassy play by Henri Bernstein; desiring one for Jacob Ben Ami he takes refuge in "The Idle Inn" (Plymouth Theater). The latter case is most instructive. Even during the run of "Samson and Delilah," the play which marked Mr. Ben Ami's triumphant appearance on the English-speaking stage, he was somewhat nervously seeking a successor to it. Manuscripts were read and libraries ransacked. After a long search, vain not so much in its own nature as in the manner of its attempt, Mr. Hopkins now presents Ben Ami in a translation from the Yiddish of Peretz Hirshbein. Even in the original the play was tenuous in substance and wavering in intention. Its one merit was its agreeably poetic use of Jewish folk-lore. That merit is almost wholly dimmed in the English production despite the brave efforts of such admirable actors as Edward G. Robinson, Whitford Kane, and Mary Shaw. Mr. Ben Ami gives the same half-realistic, half-fantastic performance that he gave at the Jewish Art Theater season before last and genuinely convinces and pleases only those unwise friends of his who are determined to be pleased at any cost. It is quite safe to predict that "The Idle Inn" will not, for good and sufficient reasons, commend itself to considerable audiences and that Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Ben Ami will find themselves within a few weeks at precisely their starting-point. They will command all the resources of the art of the theater. They will lack nothing—except everything: a play.

Another striking illustration of the condition of our stage is afforded by the adventures of Mr. Earl Carrol. At the corner of Fiftieth Street and Seventh Avenue Mr. Carrol is erecting one of the most elaborately and exquisitely equipped playhouses in the world. The building is nearing completion. But until quite the other day no play had been found with which to open. Mr. Carrol has enthusiasm, taste, and culture. He desires sincerely and ardently to do fine things. I do not know what play he has finally selected. Both his friends and the friends of the American theater must hope that he has not yielded to the old panics of Broadway. Money lost on the production of a masterpiece is like bread cast upon the waters; money lost on farces or decorative trivialities is gone.

I am coming to the obligatory constructive suggestion. It is simple enough in this case. It is not likely to yield immediate results. The theatrical managers will be forced to adopt the editorial policy of every reputable publishing house. They will be forced to take genuinely expert advice, to read manuscripts promptly and scrupulously, to discover and nurse the promise of dramatists, to take a longer view, to produce comparatively unprofitable plays for the sake of the author's future, to spend less money on the theater and more on the drama. A sound or brilliant book by a new author, though it can hardly be expected to do more than pay for itself, will not in America today want a publisher long. The producing manager will reply that his venture is much more burdensome and costly. That is true. But it need not be nearly so burdensome and costly as it is today. Good modern plays rarely demand the more elaborate costumes. A homelier scenic production of a good play is better than thousands wasted on futile gorgeousness. I know no serious or self-respecting actor who would not rather work for a moderate and steady salary than swing dizzily between five hundred a week this month and the probability of nothing a week next. Finally, the managers must let it be known that plays will be played as they were written. In every country of Europe the eminent novelists and poets will often gravitate toward the stage. Mr. Galsworthy wrote his first play at the age of thirty-nine. But we cannot expect Edith Wharton or Joseph Hergesheimer or Sherwood Anderson to hand in manuscripts to the tender mercies of Mr. Belasco or Mr. Willard Mack or to endure the prospect of sharing the adventures of Theodore Dreiser whose "The Hand of the Potter" was twice contracted for by producing managers, twice flung back at him, and found refuge at last among the Provincetown Players who might have given it a production long ago.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

LECTURES *and* AMUSEMENTS

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English text by Gregory Zilboorg
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International Relations Section

General Wood's Report

THE Report of the Special Mission on Investigation to the Philippine Islands, signed by the new Governor General, Leonard Wood, and by W. Cameron Forbes, has occasioned much comment and protest on the part of Philippine public bodies and in the Philippine press. A committee appointed by the Philippine Legislature is now on its way to the United States to answer the charges and to oppose the recommendations contained in the Report. We print below its more important sections.

Present Conditions

There has been a progressive transfer of government to the people of the islands, and at the present time it is very largely in their hands. So extensive has been the transfer that many fail to realize that there still continues in the islands a decisive American control that assures the maintenance of an orderly government, secure against disturbing influences from within and without. . . .

While there has been retrogression in the efficiency of most departments of the Government during the past few years, we do not feel that the responsibility for this rests solely upon the Filipinos or that they should be unduly blamed for such failures as have occurred, as the ultimate responsibility for the selection of responsible officers and for the exercise of proper supervision was in the hands of the American Governor General, whose duty it was to exercise due care to appoint competent men at the heads of departments and bureaus, and, above all, to exercise proper supervision over them.

A reversal of policy is not needed now, but time for the Filipinos, under careful but friendly supervision, to absorb and master what is already in their hands. We must remember that the good qualities of the people, their enthusiasm and their determination, cannot take the place of experience. . . .

The great bulk of the Christian Filipinos have a very natural desire for independence; most of them desire independence under the protection of the United States; a very small percentage desire immediate independence with separation from the United States; a very substantial element is opposed to independence, especially at this time. The Moros are a unit against independence and are united for continuance of American control and, in case of separation of the Philippines from the United States, desire their portion of the islands to be retained as American territory under American control. The pagans and non-Christians, constituting about 10 per cent of the population, are for continued American control. They want peace and security. These the Americans have given them.

The Americans in the islands are practically a unit for the continuance of American control.

The people, as a whole, are appreciative of the peace and order which prevail throughout the islands. Many do not understand what independence means, or its responsibilities. They are living under the best conditions they have ever known. It is not generally realized that the American Government cannot be expected to assume responsibility for the results of internal disorders, particularly as they affect the nationals of other Powers, the treatment of foreign capital, and external political relations, unless the United States retains a certain measure of control. . . .

Generally speaking, administrative departments of the Government are top-heavy in personnel and enmeshed in red tape. There is a vast amount of paper work. The methods of the administration are purely bureaucratic. There is a lack of supervision and personal contact.

The general administration of the Philippine Government in 1913, the period of greatest efficiency, was honest, highly efficient, and set a high standard of energy and morality. Inherited tendencies were being largely replaced by American ideals and efficiency throughout the Philippine personnel, but the time and opportunity were both too short to develop experienced leaders and direction in the new English-speaking and American-thinking generation. Both the political and administrative leaders were still Spanish-trained and Spanish-speaking, and many are so today.

It is the general opinion among Filipinos, Americans, and foreigners that the public services are now in many particulars relatively inefficient; that there has occurred a slowing down in the dispatch of business, and a distinct relapse toward the standards and administrative habits of former days. This is due in part to bad example, incompetent direction, to political infection of the services, and above all to lack of competent supervision and inspection. This has been brought about by surrendering, or failing to employ, the executive authority of the Governor General, and has resulted in undue interference and tacit usurpation by the political leaders of the general supervision and control of departments and bureaus of the Government vested by law in the Governor General.

Again, the legislature has passed laws tending to demoralize and introduce into the civil service the infection of politics. For example, numerous exemptions from the requirements of the civil service and many provisions for temporary employment. All these defects can and—unless we fail to understand the spirit of the legislature and the leaders—will be corrected in the islands.

Constabulary and Public Order

Public order is maintained principally by the constabulary, a force of approximately 5,800 officers and men. This organization has proved itself to be dependable and thoroughly efficient. In discipline, morale, and appearance it still bears the strong impress of the carefully selected officers of the United States Army who organized, trained, and developed it.

This force, excellent as it is, is designed to meet the police needs of the situation in time of peace. There is no adequate local organization of the Philippine people for defense of the islands against aggression. The American Government should at once take the necessary steps to organize, train, and equip such a force. . . .

Public order is excellent throughout the islands, with the exception of minor disturbances in the Moro regions, due principally to energetic and sometimes overzealous efforts to hasten the placing of Moro children, especially girls, in the public schools, and to the too sudden imposition upon the disarmed Mohammedans of what amounts to an absolute control by Christian Filipinos. It is also due in part to failure to give adequate representation in local government to Moros.

Administration of Justice

Justice is administered in the Philippines by a supreme court, numerous courts of first instance, justice of the peace courts, and municipal courts.

The supreme court has the respect and confidence of the Philippine people. The other tribunals do not enjoy an equal degree of confidence. In the lower tribunals, generally speaking, the administration of justice is unsatisfactory, slow, and halting, and there is a widespread feeling among the people that political, family, and other influences have undue weight in determining issues.

During the existence of the Philippine Commission a most serious effort was made to secure the best available men for the bench, without regard to party affiliation, and the men appointed at that time as a rule enjoyed public confidence. In later years, the same care has not been exercised.

There are pending in the courts of the islands today, in round numbers, approximately 50,000 cases, including some 8,000 pro-

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bate and guardianship cases. Conditions are growing steadily worse, and with the present personnel and methods the dockets will never be cleared. . . .

A frequent cause of complaint is against extreme action taken under the provisions of Act 2098, which enables employers of labor to prosecute their laborers for breach of contract, and in many cases to hold them against their will, resulting in a kind of legalized peonage. The laborers are kept in debt through the advance of money and supplies, and in return for these advances agree to work for definite periods of time and under certain conditions. Under the provisions of this act, should they leave before completion of contract they can be arrested and tried for violation of contract and for obtaining money or supplies under false pretenses. During the fiscal year 1918 there was a total of 3,266 cases of this nature, of which 1,456 were convicted.

Another common cause of complaint is the initiation of proceedings resulting in the arrest and confinement at remote places of people who are unable to give bond. This procedure results often in the holding of men in confinement for months before the cases are acted upon by the judge of the court of first instance.

The present condition results first, and above all, from the lack of proper inspection and prompt, corrective action where inefficiency and negligence have been shown, from an insufficient number of judges, insufficient pay and no provisions for retirement, and in some instances from lack of careful selection. . . .

Public Education

The Filipinos are deeply interested in public education. Their enthusiasm, their keenness to secure education for their children is beyond praise. The progressive development of the school system has been phenomenal. Indeed, enthusiasm has at times outrun prudence, and expansion has taken place so rapidly that efficiency has not been able to keep pace. . . .

The following gives an idea of the progress in this department:

Enrolment of the public schools

	1898	1902	1907	1914	1920
Pupils	4,504	[1] 200,000	479,978	489,070	925,678
American teachers	847	746	658	341	316
Filipino teachers	1,914	6,141	7,013	7,234	20,691

In 1920 the public owned 4,063 and rented 1,163 school buildings.

The total expenditures for administration and instruction were about $6,869,654.50 for 1920. The university had, in 1920, an enrolment of 4,130 with a teaching force of 379 professors and assistants. The cost of operation was $755,926.57. . . .

The percentage of the population in the schools is about 10 per cent, an excellent showing for a new government (the percentage for the United States for 1918 was 20.13). The amount spent for each pupil per year is $9.50 (the United States annual expenditure is $36.62). The amount per capita for the entire population of the Philippine Islands is $0.86.

One of the most difficult problems has been to secure efficient teachers. No class of men and women should be selected with more care, for they are charged not only with the routine education of the children, but inevitably have a great influence in forming their ideas of citizenship obligation, respect for the law and the authorities, and as these teachers do their work today so will the Philippine people of tomorrow be. . . .

One of the principal objects of the schools is to teach the children to speak English, so that it may become the language of the people. This is of vital importance, as it will form a bond of union for the numerous and more or less distinct language groups and establish a common medium of communication, which will make for efficiency in government and tend to build up a spirit of solidarity. It will also result in a more widely circulating press and the creation of an instructed public opinion, which is most important. . . .

[1] Estimated.

Economic Conditions

We are pleased to note and record many evidences of progressive development in the islands, as indicated by the following significant figures:

The postal savings bank was started in 1907, and by 1913 it had 40,000 depositors and $675,000 in deposits. In 1920 these had reached 107,000 depositors and $1,612,500 in deposits.

The law requires that 1 per cent of the gross business done in the islands be paid to the Government in the form of taxes. This business was computed to be $200,000,000 a year in 1907, when the tax was first imposed, and had increased to $325,000,000 in 1913. In 1920 it had reached the figure of $863,000,000. . . . The total resources of commercial banks rose from $15,000,000 in 1906 to $31,000,000 in 1913, and are now estimated to be $215,000,000; this, however, includes the impaired resources of the Philippine National Bank without reduction for losses. Money orders sold increased from $8,000,000 in 1913 to $17,000,000 in 1920, and postage receipts from $380,000 in 1913 to $780,000 in 1920. Telegraphic receipts show a similar increase. The gross earnings of the Philippine Railway have risen from $380,000 in 1913 to $750,000 in 1920 and the Manila Railroad from $2,400,000 in 1914 to $5,900,000 in 1920; this latter, however is partially to be explained by the sharp increase in the mileage and rates.

All this development is very gratifying and shows how rapidly the Philippine people respond to improved conditions of transportation, finance, public order, and markets, brought about since the American occupation. The sharpest advances have been made during the war, as was to be expected, as the Filipinos had few additional war burdens placed upon them and were able to take advantage of the great increase in prices, which brought them unexampled prosperity.

The country is suffering from the general world-wide depression at the present time; the prices of products have fallen off very sharply, but even this is less acute than in other countries. . . .

Your mission has had a careful report prepared showing the gross trade of the Philippine Islands. From 1903 to 1909 the figure was almost stationary; 1909 was the year in which the Payne bill was passed, creating free trade between the Philippine Islands and the United States. In the first three years of free trade the trade with all countries nearly doubled. Beginning with 1916 the trade went sharply upward until in 1920 it reached the remarkable total of $300,000,000. . . .

An analysis of the trade shows that a curve indicating exports and imports from the United States follows almost the same lines as does that of total trade. Roughly speaking, two-thirds of the business of the country, or $200,000,000, is trade with the United States, and one-third with all other countries. The proportion of gross business done with the United States has been steadily increasing. As the trade with the United States pays no customs duties and the bulk of the increase has been in that class of trade, the result is that the total revenues of customs has shown a tendency to fall off, while the cost of collection shows a steady increase.

In case free trade were to be taken from the Philippine Islands, it is probable that the closing of the rich markets of the United States to the products of the Philippine Islands would be very sharply felt. While the Philippine Government would receive customs duties on an important part of their imports that now come in free of duty, it is believed that the first effect would be a very serious blow to trade. . . .

In the main, it is believed that the loss in internal revenue, were the stimulus of free trade to business removed, would be greater than would be the increased collections of customs duties. In this connection it is interesting to note that the increase in internal revenue started when free trade was given and practically offset the drop in customs receipts at the time.

Further analysis of the customs shows the principal articles exported, measured in value, to have been: Sugar, $49,619,260; hemp, in which the Philippine Islands have a virtual monopoly,

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$35,862,000; coconut oil, $23,268,886.50; tobacco, $19,927,391; embroideries, $7,811,783.50; and copra, $3,716,870.50.[1]

Finances

In 1905 the Philippine Government was put on a thorough business basis. All services rendered by one branch of the Government to others were paid for, and the books were so kept that the appropriations did not include any interbureau or intergovernmental payments.

The law has since been changed, so that the present cost of government includes items of receipts for services sometimes from other branches of the Government, which makes analysis difficult and exact comparison impossible. . . .

Certain figures, however, stand out so boldly that they cannot be questioned. The rate of taxation has been sharply advanced. The insular gross revenues from taxation in 1913, before the Filipinos were given virtual control of their government, were $12,500,000, as opposed to $28,000,000 in 1920, an increase of 124 per cent. Government expenditures show a still greater proportion of growth. This increase in the general cost of government has not been accompanied by a proportionate increase in efficiency; on the contrary, as has been noted elsewhere, there has been a general falling off in efficiency.

The per capita revenue from taxation has risen from $1.32 in 1913 to $2.50 in 1920. This compares with the per capita taxation of $23.78 in Great Britain (1914-1915), $9.92 in the United States (1914-1915), $5.57 in Japan (1915-1916), $17.33 in the Argentine Republic (1915), and $7.79 in Brazil (1915), from which it will be seen that the Filipino bears a smaller burden of taxation than the natives in any of the above-cited countries. One reason the burden of taxation is so light in the Philippine Islands is because the United States has borne all costs of military and naval establishments necessary for the defense of the islands, and other expenses incident to the maintenance of sovereignty, including international, diplomatic, and consular representation.

Of the total revenues of $40,500,000, $28,000,000 is from taxation and $10,500,000 from operating income and commercial and industrial units; this does not include earnings of the railroad, which the Government owns through ownership of the stock.

An analysis of revenue derived from taxation shows the receipts from internal revenues to be $18,500,000, or two-thirds of the total. This internal-revenue collection is nearly four times as heavy as the collections of 1913.

The bonded debt of the Philippine Islands in 1920 was $22,000,000, for the redemption of which is laid aside nearly $5,000,000, sinking fund, so the net liability is something less than $17,500,000. A comparison with the debt of other countries demonstrates that the Philippine Islands has a smaller bonded debt than most countries, the per capita being $1.81, compared with $25 in Cuba, $237.07 in the United States, $853 in England, and $1,159 in France. . . .

Bonds and notes of the Philippine Islands have been made exempt from federal taxation and are received on deposit as currency reserve. Although not directly guaranteed, it is understood that the credit of the United States Government is behind them; this accounts for the high market value of these bonds. . . .

The Philippine National Bank

The story of the Philippine National Bank is one of the most unfortunate and darkest pages in Philippine history. This bank was started in 1916, and a law was passed compelling all provincial and municipal governments to deposit all their funds in it; and at the same time arrangements were made to transfer from other banks all government funds there deposited, except trust funds, which were held on deposit in the United States; later the bank was put into a position to get control of these moneys and reserve funds. The sum of $41,500,000, held for the conversion of currency, was transferred to the Philippine Islands, the bank making a large profit in exchange in doing so. Much of it was then loaned out to speculative concerns under circumstances which have led to grave doubt as to the good faith of the transactions.

A man presumed to be experienced in banking was brought from the United States and took the first presidency, which he held a short time. An American inexperienced in banking was then put in charge, and upon his death a Filipino, also without banking experience, became president. The result of all this has been a series of banking losses, estimated by the insular auditor to reach the severe total of $22,500,000. A partner of Messrs. Haskins & Sells, certified public accountants of New York, after a careful examination of the bank, makes the following comment:

"Our examination thus far reveals the fact that the bank has been operated during almost the entire period of its existence prior to the appointment of Mr. Wilson as manager in violation of every principle which prudence, intelligence, or even honesty, dictate."

As a result of these findings, charges have been filed against General Concepcion, a former president of the bank.

The Government became alarmed at the seriousness of the situation and secured the services of an experienced banking man from the United States, under whose conservative guidance the affairs of the bank are in a fair way to be put on a sound footing. But a large part of the assets of the bank have been loaned to concerns which will be unable to repay for many years—very largely in sugar centrals and coconut-oil factories. These loans were made in excessive amounts during the period of boom prices, and minimum precaution in regard to security was taken, with the result that the bank has allowed its reserves to run down much lower than required by law, is unable to meet its current obligations, has had to ask other banks not to press for the redemption of its notes, and has further had to ask time for the payment of its obligations to many banks in Shanghai representing many countries, a list of which is among the exhibits, to whom it owes large sums of money as a result of losses incurred in speculation in exchange transactions. Among the exhibits will be found a copy of the agreement entered into by the insular auditor and these banks for the settlement of these claims.

The bank also established branches and agencies throughout the Philippine Islands, in charge of which they placed untrained Filipinos, and without exception these branches have been mismanaged. Of the four branches in which examinations have been completed criminal charges have been preferred against the managers of each one.

These losses have seriously involved the Philippine Government, and the fact that it has not been able to meet its obligations has seriously impaired its credit. We have been informed by representatives of banks in North Borneo and Japan that they have received instructions not to honor the notes or drafts of the Philippine National Bank.

The currency resources have been depleted, the silver on deposit to redeem the currency has been pledged and used for other purposes. The fund for the maintenance of the parity of gold and silver is involved in these losses, with the result that instead of a metallic and cash basis for the currency, its principal support now is the pledge of the Philippine Government and the confidence on the part of the public that the United States will not permit these things to happen again. The currency is now practically a fiat currency.

In view of good earnings, moderate expenses, inherent wealth, a small public debt, and backed by the credit of the United States, the problem of rehabilitating the credit of the Philippine Islands should be an easy one. The lesson has been a bitter one for the Filipinos and the gravity of the mistake is generally appreciated.

[1] These figures are all for 1920 and are taken from the report of the insular collector of customs.

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One of the functions of the National Bank was to manage government exchange. Having transferred all the funds usually available for exchange to Manila, and then loaned the money in such a way that it could not be recovered, the Government had to discontinue selling exchange. The rates ran up as high as 15 per cent, which was equivalent to a depreciation of the Philippine currency to almost that amount, which has resulted in great hardship to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, especially those engaged in business.

Public Works

In the matter of public works, your mission has to report both favorably and unfavorably.

The Government and people of the islands realize the value and necessity of public works, and large appropriations from current revenues have been made annually for such objects as the construction of roads, bridges, irrigation systems, schoolhouses, markets, port works, and artesian wells, among others.

We find, however, an undue increase in the cost of public works, due in many instances to construction by administration instead of by contract; this has necessitated the purchase of equipment ordinarily furnished by the contractors. There has also been a deterioration in the quality of the work performed in this service. We find also a lack of competent supervision.

On the other hand, there has been a great deal of excellent work done. The director, a Filipino, is a man of unusual capacity and foresight, and he impressed the members of the mission most favorably.

An important proportion of all revenues of the Government are allocated to public works. And in the opinion of this mission this proportion should be increased.

Government and Business

The Government has entered into certain lines of business usually left to private initiative. Among these can be cited the national bank with disastrous results, the purchase of the Manila Railroad Company, now operated at a loss, also the National Development and National Coal Companies, etc. At the request of the mission a thorough examination of the Manila Railroad Company was made by competent army engineers whose report is among the exhibits. In our judgment the Government should as far as possible get out of and keep out of business.

Elections

Enough elections have now been held to base an opinion upon results and to note the reaction of the Philippine people in the exercise of this important and fundamental function of a representative government.

In June, 1919, the first general elections were held under the enlarged suffrage granted by the act of August 29, 1916. The suffrage is still confined to men and to those who can read and write, who hold a certain amount of property or pay a certain tax, or to those who held offices under the Spanish regime.

Interest in the elections was widespread and election day passed without any serious disturbance. There was a general, quiet acceptance by the minority of the results of the popular vote, although the executive bureau was deluged with complaints. . . .

Under the present election law officers known as "inspectors of election" are required to prepare the ballot for illiterate voters. This is a fruitful source of frauds. The election machinery is practically in the hands of the dominant parties and the inspectors of election are too often their tools. . . .

Such social organization as exists is of a patriarchal form, characterized by a strong clan feeling and centuries of leadership by a few influential individuals known as "caciques." The subservience of the people to these leaders has not yet been supplanted by new ideals that come with modern education or by a confirmed sense of duty to the state. Whenever representatives of two powerful family groups oppose one another at elections there is sure to be a bitter contest and an unwillingness on the part of the minority to accept the situation.

During the visit of the mission through the provinces the charges and countercharges of fraudulent practices have been widespread and intense. On the whole, this interest is indicative of a certain development of public opinion which will, in the end, right the wrongs.

As a rule, there is little evidence of a party system and program, and the elections are fought out upon personalities rather than on principles.

The party in power is so intrenched that under the present election law it would be very difficult for the people to dislodge it if they wanted to change.

Legislation

Legislation in which Filipinos have participated may be fairly divided into three periods:

First, 1907 to 1913. Under the strong, conservative influence of the Commission with an American majority, the legislation passed was constructive and good, with marked emphasis placed upon the improvement of education and construction of permanent improvements.

Second, 1913 to 1916. The restraining influence was withdrawn with the appearance of a Filipino majority on the Commission. Good, constructive legislation was passed, but there were marked tendencies to inject politics into administration and to interfere with administrative efficiency. Injudicious economy by salary cutting and discouragement of government personnel became marked. The tendency toward government interference in business and radical government paternalism began. The legislation also showed a conscious effort to encourage Filipino nationality and independence.

Third, 1916 to 1921. With an elected House and Senate, the legislation in this period became increasingly radical in its paternalism and government interference with business. Some constructive legislation was passed, but the general trend was toward injection of politics into administration and encroachment of the legislative on the executive. Legislation affecting finance, banking, and currency has been radical and unwise.

Another tendency in recent legislation has been the deliberate effort to take away from the American officers of the Government supervision of the different branches of the Government and put it into the departments controlled by Filipinos. Act 2666 provides that the secretaries of all departments must be Filipinos. This is discriminatory legislation against Americans. The so-called Jones bill provides that the Vice Governor and Secretary of Public Instruction must be an American, and it further provides that the health duties should be under this officer. The Philippine Legislature has endeavored to evade this by transferring the management of all government hospitals to the Department of the Interior and by creating and placing in the same department a board of pharmaceutical officers, a board of optical examiners, etc.

The tendency which is found in all legislatures of passing the bulk of the legislation in the last two days of the session is noted. By this means, much important legislation is passed with a rush. The forms of budget and currency appropriation bills are good.

General Conclusions

We find the people happy, peaceful, and in the main prosperous, and keenly appreciative of the benefits of American rule.

We find everywhere among the Christian Filipinos the desire for independence, generally under the protection of the United States. The non-Christians and Americans are for continuance of American control.

We find a general failure to appreciate the fact that independence under the protection of another nation is not true independence.

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We find that the Government is not reasonably free from those underlying causes which result in the destruction of government.

We find that a reasonable proportion of officials and employees are men of good character and ability, and reasonably faithful to the trust imposed upon them; but that the efficiency of the public services has fallen off, and that they are now relatively inefficient, due to lack of inspection and to the too rapid transfer of control to officials who have not had the necessary time for proper training.

We find that many Filipinos have shown marked capacity for government service and that the young generation is full of promise; that the civil-service laws have in the main been honestly administered, but there is a marked deterioration due to the injection of politics.

We find there is a disquieting lack of confidence in the administration of justice, to an extent which constitutes a menace to the stability of the Government.

We find that the people are not organized economically nor from the standpoint of national defense to maintain an independent government.

We find that the legislative chambers are conducted with dignity and decorum and are composed of representative men.

We feel that the lack of success in certain departments should not be considered as proof of essential incapacity on the part of Filipinos, but rather as indicating lack of experience and opportunity, and especially lack of inspection.

We find that questions in regard to confirmation of appointments might at any time arise which would make a deadlock between the Governor General and the Philippine Senate.

We feel that with all their many excellent qualities, the experience of the past eight years, during which they have had practical autonomy, has not been such as to justify the people of the United States in relinquishing supervision of the government of the Philippine Islands, withdrawing their army and navy, and leaving the islands a prey to any powerful nation coveting their rich soil and potential commercial advantages.

In conclusion we are convinced that it would be a betrayal of the Philippine people, a misfortune to the American people, a distinct step backward in the path of progress, and a discreditable neglect of our national duty were we to withdraw from the islands and terminate our relationship there without giving the Filipinos the best chance possible to have an orderly and permanently stable government.

Recommendations

1. We recommend that the present general status of the Philippine Islands continue until the people have had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands.

2. We recommend that the responsible representative of the United States, the Governor General, have authority commensurate with the responsibilities of his position. In case of failure to secure the necessary corrective action by the Philippine Legislature, we recommend that Congress declare null and void legislation which has been enacted diminishing, limiting, or dividing the authority granted the Governor General under Act No. 240 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, known as the Jones bill.

3. We recommend that in case of a deadlock between the Governor General and the Philippine Senate in the confirmation of appointments the President of the United States be authorized to make and render the final decision.

4. We recommend that under no circumstances should the American Government permit to be established in the Philippine Islands a situation which would leave the United States in a position of responsibility without authority.

Leonard Wood, *Chairman.*
W. Cameron Forbes.

October 8, 1921.

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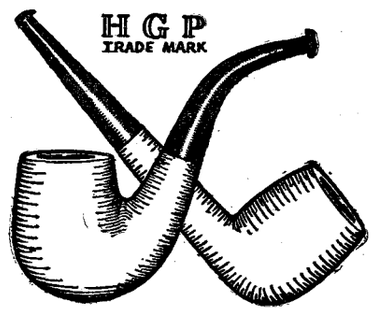

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